

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXIX, No. 4

Total Number 286

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

League Sponsors First Regional Conference in Southwest

The first regional conference of the National Municipal League in the southwest, sponsored by the Dallas Citizens Council, met in Dallas March 20-22. This conference prompted Editor Lewis W. Bailey of the *Dallas Journal* to tell his readers:

"Dallas has just entertained a regional conference of the National Municipal League. It brought together sixty speakers in sectional meetings and general sessions, discussing government and citizenship. Among the speakers were men prominent in public life in their home states and some nationally known. The addresses and round table discussions were stimulating and informative. . . . The conference should be repeated next year and participated in widely by the citizenship of Dallas and Texas, for in the interchange of ideas and experience comes the inspiration for better government."

One thousand people attended from Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Ft. Worth, and other Texas cities and from Oklahoma and nearby states.

The sessions put particular emphasis on various phases of citizenship. Five general sessions dealt with broad aspects of problems facing democracy and the part each citizen can play.

Particularly noteworthy were the informed discussions in the twelve group sessions, six of which met concurrently each morning on March 21 and 22. These sessions discussed training for competent citizenship, citizens' organizations, training for citizenship in the public schools, new voters and the plan of a citizenship day, taxation, forms of city government, trained personnel, county government, traffic control.

Those present at the session on training new voters took definite steps toward introducing the Manitowoc plan in Dallas.

In addition to members of the League staff and speakers from Texas, those who took part in the program included Chief Justice John Dawson of the Supreme Court of Kansas, Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president of the Minneapolis Civic Council, A. P. Haake, American Economic Foundation; Cortez A. M. Ewing, director of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, University of Oklahoma and several members of his staff; Virgil Sheppard, Indiana Department of Public Welfare.

More than fifty speakers led the discussions. Although it is impossible to select one session or one speaker above all the rest, several of the outstanding papers will appear in subsequent issues of the REVIEW.

League Members in the News

DR. C. A. DYKSTRA, president of the League and of the University of Wisconsin, recently made two addresses in New York City—before the New York Alumni of the University of Wisconsin and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

(Continued on Page 227)

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I gather from Dr. Reed's letter in the March NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW that his attempt "to clarify and complete the record in the recent Richmond-Henrico County annexation" by a one-sided condensation into a few pages of the factual data contained in over 5,000 pages of testimony and 350 odd exhibits flows from his anxiety to extricate himself from the position of having been aligned with the forces of reaction in procuring an annexation decree.

The decree, if sustained on appeal, will take from Henrico, one of the seven manager counties in the United States, 46 per cent of its taxable values and 37 per cent of its population, including, according to Dr. Reed, the population of the area from which "had come the backbone of the support for the manager form." I say, if sustained on appeal, because the county, a week before Dr. Reed's letter of February 22, 1940, had publicly announced its intention to apply for an appeal from the two-to-one decision of the lower court to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia.

It is difficult for Dr. Reed to avoid the implication that he was active in procuring a decree against the county manager plan, despite the fact that one of the two judges who decided in the city's favor commended the people of the county for "the fine modern form of government which they have adopted" and contrasted it with Richmond's "out-moded, fossilized, bicameral councilmanic form of city government." The court's action, however, speaks louder than kind words, and a flattering contrast will little aid the county as it tightens its belt and, after annexation, tries to take care of 80 per cent of its present school enrollment and 90 per cent of the public welfare and health problems with its drastically reduced revenues.

The decree which Dr. Reed worked for will not, if affirmed, destroy the county manager form in Henrico for its leaders in all sections seem determined to carry on, but it can hardly be said that a decree which will necessitate stiff increases in taxation or sharp reduction in the public services is not against the manager plan.

It is true, as was said by one of the Judges who decided in the city's favor, that, "Even the city's expert on municipal government, Dr. Reed, has no kind words for its form of government," but Dr. Reed did urge upon the court the consideration of the other factual matters to which he alludes in his letter as justifying annexation, despite the county's modern form of government and the city's fossilized form with its accompaniment of deficit financing. Whether these factual matters, which were of course controverted by the county's witnesses, justified Dr. Reed's contention that 15,000 people should be transferred against their wishes from a modern to an obsolete form of government or the decision of the majority of the court that this should be done is a matter which will not be settled until a final decision has been had on the appeal, and no good purpose could be served by my arguing with Dr. Reed about them at this time.

Sincerely yours,

WILLARD F. DAY
County Manager

March 23, 1940

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Land of Riches: Know Thyself

THE greatest statistical agency in the world, the United States Bureau of the Census, is currently going efficiently ahead (albeit in the face of some necessary and some unnecessary difficulties) with a study which should result in the most nearly complete, accurate, and informative census ever taken in this or any other country.

While the general public is most acutely aware of the counting of noses, there is even greater significance in the censuses of business, agriculture, manufactures, and housing, as well as in the tangent surveys covering unemployment, usual occupations, income, irrigation and drainage, mines and quarries, etc.

The principle of representative government is definitely involved in the official count of individuals living in the United States, including its outlying possessions. Representatives and direct taxes, says article I of the constitution are apportioned among the states according to population. Similarly, membership in the lower houses of the state legislatures is supposed to be apportioned each ten years in accordance with actual enumeration. Big cities everywhere will snicker a bit over this point, or perhaps grind their teeth in helpless rage, but they are sure to get more ammunition. Some day the cities will get and deserve the confidence of the rural regions—or perhaps the

problem will be met finally by a complete and even dispersion of population from congested areas.

In many states it would be a matter of simple and straightforward honesty to amend constitutions to say that cities should have in the legislature only half, or one-third, or one-tenth the representation of the less populous regions.

While the basis for this essential process of democracy, regardless of its habitual perversion in the states after the federal government has done its work so well, is being reached by a nation-wide count, experience of such enumerations every ten years since 1790 has suggested the wisdom of obtaining a wide range of other statistics of a social nature having far-reaching significance to our people. There are immense and long-continuing possibilities for use of the statistics which will be gathered. Not only are age, sex, race, birthplace, education, and so on, recorded and tabulated by units from 2,500 population and up, and by rural areas, but also place of residence five years ago, whether employed, type of employment, amount of wage and salary income last year, and other important facts.

Data for seventy-one cities are to be compiled according to census tracts, the value of which, for social and governmental purposes, will be attested to freely by Chicago, Cincin-

nati, Detroit, Providence, Rochester, and other cities. Statistics of 140 metropolitan regions also will be reported separately.

The housing census is an innovation, directly concerned with that major problem. The ownership, age, type of construction, physical condition, number of rooms, occupancy, monthly rental value, kinds of utilities, and similar questions are projected.

This census is no "sampling" survey; it is the real thing. It will develop a mass of figures and facts which, with the growing passion for analysis and fact-finding, should give the "experts" much challenging and useful work to do.

Difficult and unwieldy as the task seems, and considering the temporary

status of many of those who are doing the work, the results are amazingly accurate and dependable. We can use more, not less, information about this country. In another ten years it is to be hoped that additional and more penetrating questions will be asked, utilizing some such technique as has been suggested by Secretary Hopkins to safeguard the right of the individual to keep confidential certain information about his personal affairs. It should be generally appreciated that the information which John Smith would not want Sam Jones to know is information which, gathered in the mass and separated from the identity of the individual, may be of vital importance to John Smith as a citizen in a great commonwealth.

The Compliment Supreme

"For practical purposes," says the February issue of *The Civic Searchlight*, published by the Detroit Citizens League, "Mayor Jeffries is virtually the city manager of Detroit. A fair study of the record, including his eight years in the city council, supports the belief that the nonparti-

san independence of the average city manager is in no important respect different from the position now held by Mayor Jeffries."

Well, the world does move when, to pay a mayor a high compliment, you tell him he acts more like a city manager every day.

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 224)

HON. MURRAY SEASONGOOD, past president of the League and former mayor of Cincinnati, has also made several interesting addresses in the east. In Baltimore he addressed the Citizens League of that city, and in Boston he spoke before the Boston Real Estate Exchange. Earlier Mr. Seasongood spoke at Kenyon College, Ohio.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

It Won't Be Long Now!

The worm turns in Louisiana as voters overthrow the most complete dictatorship in America.

By S. S. SHEPPARD

Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans

ALWAYS the five-star theatre of American politics, the historic old state of Louisiana has just staged a new production—one packed with thrills, upsets, and potentialities. A breathless audience now awaits a new four-year engagement starring Governor-elect Sam Jones.

It won't be Long now!

Just one year ago all was peaceful in the Pelican State. From the Sabine to the Pearl River, and from the Arkansas border to the Gulf bayous, no breath of opposition stirred the most complete dictatorship of any American state.

Political machines of the state and New Orleans had for three years been as one. Legislative pliability belied any necessity for the electric voting system installed in the statehouse. Complete affinity appeared to exist between the courts and the other two branches of the state government.

And over the whole scene shone a warm and enervating sun of a co-operative and benevolent federal government.

ONE EVENTFUL YEAR

The twelve months intervening have been thrill-packed with exposures, indictments, convictions, and a popular uprising that was nowhere apparent in the cards last April.

One by one, heads have toppled, lofty heads that once graced the

Huey Long inner circle. The President of Louisiana State University is now serving a term arising from several of many indictments. Former Governor Leche resigned and now faces a full quota of charges. Abe Shushan, whose acquittal on income tax charges presaged the abandonment of a number of similar suits in 1935, and Seymour Weiss, who brazenly defied a Senatorial investigating committee—both are appealing recent sentences to Atlanta.

Many others who once bore names to conjure with are scattered along an almost routine path of indictment, trial, and conviction.

And then in February came the climax—the simultaneous defeat of combined city and state machines by various neophyte citizen groups pushing the candidacy of a Lake Charles attorney named Sam Jones.

In one blow this final stroke removed the brother of Huey Long from political effectiveness, sent crumbling the old Huey Long machine, and threatened the hitherto undisputed supremacy in state and city affairs of Robert S. Maestri, Mayor of New Orleans.

What forces could have brought about so lightning-like a change and so explosive a reaction?

Foremost of course is the fact that dictatorship breeds its own destruction. Any government is most un-

stable when no opposition is blowing through the safety valve.

The state government for a number of years has lacked legislative criticism, the check of the courts, and the customary rivalry of the city machine. Louisiana did not have the tradition of accurate public reporting by officials; in addition to public records arbitrarily closed, many important records were by law shielded from public view. In the background was the ever present handicap of a one-party system.

The safety valve of public expression was held down too long.

Excesses in corruption and graft thrive in any too secure situation like this. In addition Louisiana's credit improved in an easy money market, the New Deal poured in millions for public works and relief, the sales tax proved a real money-maker, the extension of oil fields has brought in extra millions through leases and severance taxes, and the state suddenly found itself blessed with oil beyond any previous expectation. The combination was too much for many to resist after the lean years of 1931 to 1934.

Then too the anschluss of state and city machines in 1935 was at best an artificial union attempted after decades of rivalry and in spite of dissimilarities in background, interests, and objectives. One partner prospered while the other wore a lean and hungry look.

A fourth factor was the collapse of the legislative branch achieved by Huey Long and continued by his heirs. An ill-paid set of legislators were unable to assert independence particularly when multiple officehold-

ing ("double dipping" and "triple dipping") was encouraged despite the obvious intent of the law. Recent sessions were not idly termed "the sack of potatoes legislature."

Perhaps the most ominous backdrop of the stage one year ago was the degree of politicalization of the state courts dating back, of course, to the days of the Kingfish. One of the most amusing and pathetic sights in the aftermath of the February election is the sudden virtue and almost crusading fervor of courts hitherto supine.

OF WASHINGTON ORIGIN

By the summer of 1939 the situation required only a catalytic agent to set off the explosion, a force supplied in this case by the Federal Department of Justice.

Hardly had the former President of the State University bestowed academic honors on Attorney General Murphy, when his generosity backfired in one of the most extensive attacks on local corruption undertaken by the federal government. The part played by Washington in the earlier stages would be difficult to overestimate.

Throughout 1939 the heavy artillery was all federal. An exceptional grand jury pried into innumerable cases of law violation and found in the mail fraud statutes a flexibility overlooked by many of the politically new rich. While the crimes involved were essentially the local ones of theft, bribery, obtaining money under false pretenses, etc., almost all of them involved the use of the mails if only for the clearance of checks.

Exposure after exposure followed.

Federal grand jurors forged ahead while local grand juries struggled vainly at times against antagonistic district attorneys and even judges. The findings were widely circulated by newspapers throughout the state, particularly in New Orleans; the newspapers now led the fight for repudiation of the political machines and were a major factor in the ensuing upset.

The elections of 1940 brought the Department of Justice into still another field since under the law election returns had to be mailed to Baton Rouge. Election methods in Louisiana are still somewhat in the "rough and tumble" stage of 1890, but for the first time the mail fraud statutes and several obscure civil rights laws made vote-stealing a little precarious.

Sincere students of government will find a real cause for contemplation in the extension of federal powers involved in the campaigns against political corruption in Louisiana, Missouri, New Jersey, and elsewhere. The effects in the cases mentioned are undoubtedly helpful, though some may look with misgivings on possible future abuse and the further spread of central authority.

AT THE CROSSROADS

Such questions in Louisiana are buried under the more pressing one as to what the new administration will be able to accomplish by way of improving state and local government.

The Governor-elect goes into office after a real popular upheaval; because of "shortcomings" in election administration and other factors, his victory by 20,000 votes is as impres-

sive as a landslide in some localities.

Chief state elective officials will be Jones men. The new attorney-general is a fearless and capable prosecutor. The legislature, although somewhat an unknown factor, will be amenable at first and perhaps throughout the term of the new governor. The courts are now behaving themselves.

Most important of all, the state political machine appears thoroughly demoralized with no powerful leadership apparent. Governor Earl Long promises to "sit on the lid" until Jones comes in but even in this task he has little help from his erstwhile partners.

On the other hand there are many unknown or adverse factors.

The state cupboard is nearly bare, its debt high. In April the electorate will sweep away the sales tax. Last-minute appropriations by the old legislature and some very expensive promises by Candidate Jones will be embarrassing.

Then too the future of the city machine is uncertain. Its liberation from a not too profitable partnership with the state machine may give it a new lease on life. On the other hand, anything can happen once state prosecutors, grand juries, and courts are freed from a repressive political atmosphere.

The new governor's pledges include a merit system, revision of the tax system, reorganization of state government, an improved election system, greater "home rule," open records and full audits, conservation of natural resources, a better administration of social security activities,

and the elimination of graft and favoritism.

These are, of course, traditional planks, but are of urgent necessity in Louisiana. To accomplish them or even a major part of them in a single administration is a Herculean task.

Finally there is the question of cleaning up the debris left by the scandals of the past year and others impending. Several hundred indictments still stand, numerous trials and major civil suits are scheduled, and there is every evidence of many charges yet to come.

Whether the present overturn is

but a virtuous intermission or an entirely new production is by no means clear at this time.

The actors are new and the stage is changed; but the audience, which eventually dictates the plot, remains the same. Whether that audience now has a permanent conviction for good government or whether it will soon tire of the new theme is still uncertain.

In any event Louisiana has turned over another new leaf in its most impressive drive for better government in a generation.

Why They Shelved the Manager Plan

When citizens vote to abandon the council-manager form of government, they do it because:

1. The manager plan is being blamed for economic depression;
2. The manager plan is working poorly on account of a defective charter;
3. Selfish political interests have stolen a march on napping citizens.

These are the three chief reasons which Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan assigns for manager plan abandonments as a result of a study of the twenty-five municipalities where the plan has been abandoned by popular vote. Professor Bromage found only five communities which, because of peculiar local circumstances, do not fit into one of the three categories.

The study brings up to date earlier researches on the same subject made by Mr. Bromage and published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The new work is published this month by the National Municipal League in a 48-page pamphlet titled *Manager Plan Abandonments*.

City Management vs. Partisan Politics

Experience of New London, Connecticut, with both partisan and nonpartisan ballot bears out contention that manager plan thrives best with nonpartisan elections bolstered by citizen organization.

By JULIUS ARTHUR OFFSTEIN
Yale University

TO SURVIVE and prosper in this increasingly complex world, social organizations must adjust themselves to life conditions. In recent years, among experts in American municipal government, there has risen to prominence the contention that the council-manager plan provides the necessary framework for such satisfactory adjustment. Just how valid is this belief in the light of realistic practice? The long-term experience of a New England community of 30,000 with a city manager, appointed by and responsible to a small elective council, may indicate whether such a form of government offers a better adjustment to local needs than the form which it displaced eighteen years ago.¹

New London, Connecticut, is an old New England community located

on Long Island Sound at the broad mouth of the sluggish Thames River. Its size is six square miles, its shape irregular, its population in 1930 numbered 29,640. It lies midway between New York and Boston. The city's economic life is diversified in character. There are several kinds of factories. The city is the shopping center for more than 50,000 persons as well as the seat of two institutions of higher learning—fashionable Connecticut College for Women and the United States Coast Guard Academy—and residents derive income from all these sources.

Like many another New England city, New London's population is heterogeneous. According to the 1930 census returns, almost one-fifth of the total residents are foreign-born. New London is also the navy's North Atlantic submarine base; and its fine harbor bristles with yachts and pleasure-going craft when the Harvard-Yale boat races are held each June on the Thames.

After almost three centuries of experience with local government, New London stepped into the vanguard of municipal progress by adopting a council-manager charter in the summer of 1921.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—Acknowledgment is made to Professor Harvey C. Mansfield of the Department of Government, Yale University. Thanks are given to Miss Barbara Thrall and Samuel Ziskind, Yale University, for aid in diction. The author takes full credit, of course, for errors herein contained.

¹*Council-Manager Government in New London, Connecticut, 1921-1938* was the title of a monograph written by the author of this article for the Social Science Research Council in 1937-38, as well as the title of his Master of Arts essay on Government at Yale University.

The inception of the manager form introduces a governmental variation which involves interaction and adjustment with long standing traditions and practices in the community. The most serious problem for many municipalities is the degree of participation and control exercised by old line political parties within the new framework of government. In New London this problem has been especially acute.

For the first twelve years—from 1921 to 1933—New London operated under a nonpartisan system, and administration during this period was praiseworthy. To install the new system James E. Barlow was imported from the managership of Dayton, Ohio. When Mr. Barlow was replaced two years later by a local man, it was Harvard-trained William A. Holt who got the job. Manager Holt endeavored to carry out the long range administrative program outlined by his predecessor with regard to personnel, public works, and cognate problems.

PARTISAN ELECTIONS

While no party bearing a national label appeared during the first few years of manager government, a local Good Government Club, sponsored by friends of the manager plan, successfully campaigned during the first elections for competent candidates for the council. The GGC passed out of existence within a few years, however, and a combination of factors resulted in a decline in the calibre of the council.

In 1933, by charter amendment, national party labels were reintroduced in strictly local elections.

Within three years candidates who rallied under the symbols of national parties had gained a majority in the council, and in 1936 efficient Manager Holt was turned out of office for purely partisan reasons. After months of partisan squabble, during which time the administration was placed in the hands of the town attorney, council appointed John W. Sheedy, unemployed local business executive, as manager. The appointment was described in the local press "as the climax to what was undoubtedly the most uproarious meeting the city council ever held. Pent-up feeling, obvious disappointment over election results, a stampede of Democrats determined to see Mr. Sheedy appointed, frayed nerves, steam-roller tactics, the indulgence of personalities, vituperative outbursts of oratory, all contributed to making the meeting one which was openly described as a disgrace to the city."

Since 1936 the manager's office—hitherto dominant and primarily administrative—has been submerged. Immediately following the appointment of Mr. Sheedy the mayor began paying afternoon calls on the manager to discuss the daily affairs of the city—an action smacking of political interference which is hardly envisioned in manager theory.

New London's experience under both partisan and nonpartisan government has tended to widely held opinion in favor of the latter. As is to be expected, the success of the new plan rests upon the willingness of actors on the political stage to play the roles assigned to them by the impressarios of manager theory. Unless the party in a partisan system

accepts the fundamentals of manager government and abides by the rules of the game, manager theory will remain theory or be deformed in practice. The party must, for example, agree to appoint as manager a competent administrator who is not himself involved in party councils. To these conditions the party must gracefully bow, knowing, too, that the manager will oppose patronage, lax law enforcement, and the scores of other things which have been the very heart and soul, not to mention bread and butter, of political parties.

To expect a local party to sacrifice its spoils of office merely to abide by idealistic rules of self-abnegation is to wish for the improbable. Even when political parties agree to the external forms of manager government, powerful forces are at work behind the scenes seeking to use the manager's office as a patronage dispensing machine. Manager Holt's forced resignation may be explained only on partisan grounds.

CITIZEN ORGANIZATION ESSENTIAL

Manager government has a better chance for successful operation if national party symbols are carefully avoided on the ballot. Otherwise, antagonisms from unthinking allegiance to traditional political alignments may have a deleterious effect in the local political arena.

Opposing interests of party and manager systems must somehow be reconciled. On the one hand we have the problem of curtailing the influence of old-style political parties. On the other hand is the very practical problem of finding a substitute for this basic institution in com-

munity life, something that will look, taste, and smell like a party, that will provide the bands, smoke, speeches, and associational activities, and yet yield wholesome results.

Experience has shown that an alert, public-spirited, nonpartisan Good Government Club may furnish the necessary substitute. The highly successful Cincinnati plan centers around permanent organization—extending down to wards and precincts. Here the associational and recreational services that have long been the foundation of local political parties are channeled into loyalty for good government. Had the Good Government Club continued its existence in New London, party politics might never have enjoyed a resurgence, and the partisan dismissal of Manager Holt might have been prevented.

But why was it that parties displaced the Good Government Club in New London? It must have been because the GGC started out and remained a blue stocking affair—large taxpayers primarily. To be successful as a party, a good government organization must lose its silk stocking character, broaden its base, and furnish the needs which a party supplies. In supplying these needs, it may be organized around churches, leagues of women voters, or similar groups, but at least it must lose the connotation of large taxpayers.

The idea that good government will result from a spontaneous annual rising of the omniscient and omniscient elector is an illusion of nineteenth century democrats—a fallacy which has been contradicted time and time again by experience.

"Organization, leadership, and discipline are indispensable to any beneficial action by masses of men."² To make democracy work, in New London or elsewhere, it is desirable that a permanent organization exist to inquire into the results of government, to guard over the rules of the game, whenever necessary bringing stalwart forces of public opinion to bear on those who violate the canons of political honesty.

In summarizing the relationship of party to the manager system, it is my belief that manager government will work best in a small city when partisan labels are excluded from the ballot; also when there exists as guide and checkrein a permanent community organization commanding prestige and allegiance, whose interest lies not with a clique or faction but with the principles of manager government itself.

MANAGER FORM SUPERIOR

That manager government in New London is demonstrably a form of adjustment superior to the regulative institutions it displaced is attested by its achievements in (1) simplifying the task of the voter, (2) improving administrative machinery, and (3) helping create a favorable community attitude through efficiency and economy in government.

More than a dozen candidates on a ballot makes it manifestly difficult for most voters to form an intelligent opinion on their respective merits. Previous to the installation of the manager system there were eighty-seven elective officers in New Lon-

don, or almost one-third of all city employees, exclusive of the school system. Today the voter merely needs to acquaint himself with seven councilors—four of whom are elected one year and three the next. The remaining three of the ten elective officers, the selectmen, are historic survivals having the unimportant function of examining electoral lists at registration time.

With the simplification of electoral problems has come a more efficient organization of administrative machinery. Previously, administrative authority was distributed at random between eighty-seven electives possessing ballot independence of one another. Two hundred appointees were supervised by various boards, commissions, and committees of the council. Thus the mayor, designated "chief executive officer" in one section of the charter, was in other sections bereft of much supervisory authority; and the insidious wiles of politics further operated to reduce his office to administrative impotence. Only a rude sort of coördination existed between the several departments of government. Finance functions, for example, were shared by half a dozen treasurers, none of whom held superior coördinating authority.

Under the council-manager plan, a loose aggregate of offices and institutions has been coördinated in such a manner as to allow the several departments to exercise their special functions unimpeded, while sharing in mutual dependence upon a manager who specializes in direction and control. Lines of authority and responsibility are clarified in the new charter. The manager functions as chief

²William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (1906), p. 48.

directive center for subordinate heads of the four principal departments—finance, public works, fire, and police. How quickly this mechanism can be mobilized and adjusted to meet contingencies was demonstrated by the efficiency with which the hurricane crisis was met in New London in the fall of 1938.³

Economy and efficiency have provided a tangible basis for improved public attitude and confidence in local government. Under the old system it was taken for granted that graft, corruption, and peanut politics were inherent features of local government. Today these practices have been sharply curtailed; and current opinion tends to the notion that, as one citizen expressed it, "There is no graft in New London." For in terms of practical business efficiency, the citizen is cognizant of certain improvements instituted as early as 1922. Briefly, the benefits innovated by the manager system include:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. A complete change in the city accounting system, from a mere cash income and cash expenditure basis to a modern double-entry bookkeeping system.

2. A detailed budget and a uniform classification of accounts for each department.

3. A centralized purchasing system under a full-time purchasing agent.

4. Abolition of park, ferry, water, and sewer boards, and the consolida-

tion of their functions under the city manager.

5. A city treasurer's office to replace independent offices operated by school, park, ferry, and water boards.

6. Finally, the new government inherited a burden of indebtedness accumulated by the old regime. A non-serial bonded debt of \$951,000 had caused an increase of the tax rate to 33.75 mills. Outstanding "bills" were paid off within a year after the manager plan went into effect. The non-serial debt had been reduced to \$325,000 in 1938 without curtailment of vital services. The tax rate now hovers around 27 mills, and on occasion has been as low as 22.5 mills.

Cities, like every organism and social institution, must constantly adapt themselves, directly or indirectly, to conditions of existence. Obviously that community will progress most which looks to the times and adopts increasingly specialized agencies for subdividing community effort, provided at the same time there exists efficient means to synchronize the several interdependent agencies. In the political life of most communities, this integration can be successfully accomplished by adoption of council-manager government. Certainly in New London the manager plan has markedly improved the political situation, has solved many basic problems of administration, and has quickened the pride of the citizens in their government. One cannot but conclude that manager government in New London is a better adjustment to the need for regulative institutions than the outmoded system which it replaced.

³See also "New London, Connecticut, Fights a Hurricane," by author, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1938.

Politics Without Patronage

Citizen organizations in this country might well profit by certain techniques and policies already tested by local patronageless political organizations in England.

By LEON WEAVER
University of Illinois

INCREASING attention is being devoted to the problems of citizen organization.¹ Developments in this field are of significance because this focus of interest may signify a new phase of evolution of the citizen organization. If such a process of cross-fertilization is continued, it might well provide a new stimulus to the organization and perfection of what is already a tool of great potentiality for the achievement of local democracy.

One logical implication of the fully developed citizen organization is the patronageless local party group—a militant “political machine” organized on a ward and precinct basis, but one relying on “volunteer” service for canvassing and election day activity. The Cincinnati Charter Committee is probably the best known example of such a group.²

There is a growing body of compe-

tent opinion that the development of the local patronageless political organization is a matter of crucial importance in the tests to which democracy is now being put.³ The necessary condition for better government is the election of better politicians, which in turn necessitates the participation of a larger proportion of the citizenry in active politics—especially in canvassing and election day work, as distinguished from seeking office or merely casting a vote.

What is not so clear is the specific means for attaining this laudable objective. The problem, then, becomes one of pooling knowledge and focusing ingenuity on the perfection of a social invention whose outlines have already begun to take shape. The problem consists of determining the exact conditions and specific techniques whereby effective and active participation in local party affairs will supplant citizen ignorance and apathy. The problem is to devise a workable formula—or rather to improve on the formula already existing—and to inform the public of its existence.

¹At the last National Conference on Government sponsored by the National Municipal League a subcommittee was set up to draft and publish a campaign manual for use by citizens' organizations. According to a summary of the secretary's report on that organization, in the January 1940 NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Dr. Roy V. Peel, the League's research director, is working with the University of Indiana on a cooperative research program centering around the relation of the citizen to his government.

²See *The Cincinnati Plan of Citizen Organization for Political Activity*, Report of the Committee on Citizens' Charter Organization, National Municipal League, 1934.

³For instance, see George O. Fairweather, *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self Government*, University of Chicago Press, 1935; W. E. Mosher, “Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots,” NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1935; also, by the same author, “The Party Is the Crux,” NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1939.

A study of the literature regarding English party organization and the publications of the English parties leads the writer to venture the suggestion that those interested in encouraging the development of patronageless political organizations might do well to borrow certain techniques and policies already tested in the English system. English parties do not have patronage—at least in the sense in which Americans use the term—with which to reward party workers; yet they maintain efficient vote-getting organizations.

PARTY SCHOOLS AND AGENTS

The two principal features of the English system which will be considered in this paper are: (a) certain techniques, especially the political school, for motivating and training party workers; and (b) the "profession" of party agents. Both features seem to hold certain implications for those interested in working out a blueprint for the local patronageless political organization.

The principal difficulty in building such an organization is in interesting the citizen in precinct work, in convincing him of its necessity and of the dividends that it will pay him in the form of better governmental service or lower taxes.

Or, if he is convinced on these points, he may not know how to translate his good intentions into action. The English parties attempt to surmount these difficulties by means of the week-end or summer political schools. In these political schools the prospective workers are shown how to conduct polls and organize election day efforts. In addi-

tion to putting into his hands specific tools for political work, the schools perform a valuable function by interesting the heretofore apathetic or lukewarm citizen in party work. One writer's evaluation of the effectiveness of political schools is indicated by the following language:

At the schools are people of all ages, but mainly those in the twenties and thirties. For them this spiritual experience is tremendous: they have never known anything like it. The students are avid for the knowledge that they have been prevented by circumstances from obtaining. These few days of speeches by experts and by the great men of the party, discussion on the floor and with fellow students, in beautiful surroundings, cause the growth of party solidarity and centralization, through gratitude, belief that the information is the correct answer to doubts, and sheer fellow-feeling. This holds good for the large majority of students, and their descent upon their constituencies after the experience may easily be imagined. . . .⁴

The English political school suggests that here is a device which those interested in encouraging the formation of patronageless local political organizations might use to help solve the key problem of motivating volunteer precinct workers.⁵ This in turn suggests that close students of the problems of citizen or-

⁴Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, 1931, p. 486, footnote.

⁵There is some indication that local committees of the major parties are experimenting with the political school. See *Fort Wayne Republican Conference (1935)* and *Fort Wayne Republican Forum News* (especially the July 1939 issue), Mayor's Office, Fort Wayne, Ind.

ganizations might do well to study the English political school to see what features can profitably be borrowed and to work out a publication for the use of local groups.⁶

CAREERS FOR POLITICIANS

All three of the major English parties employ paid agents in as many constituencies as they can afford them. The English party agent may be said to be a "career politician." His calling is recognized as a profession with rather high standards. He is recruited strictly on a merit basis, after an examination and in-service training analogous to the procedures in His Majesty's civil service.⁷ He enjoys comparative security of tenure and receives a pension

on retirement. The agents in each party have their own society which publishes a magazine devoted to professional problems. The agent's duties include serving as executive secretary of the local party organization, recruiting and motivating volunteer workers, and coordinating and directing their efforts.

There are already in this country a few men who have had considerable experience in serving as the executives for local patronageless organizations. It is suggested that the existence of such a body of men, and the informing of local citizens' groups that they exist, might give a considerable impetus to the formation of local patronageless political organizations. It may be further suggested that the as yet comparatively few such political executives in this country might further that cause by a study of the program of training the English party agent and by exploring the feasibility of an analogous program for this country, whereby selected college graduates could be given training, on an apprenticeship basis, in organizing patronageless precinct politics in one of the local patronageless political organizations now in existence.

⁶For brief discussions of the political education activities of English parties, see Joseph R. Starr, "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Conservative Party," *American Political Science Review*, August 1939; "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Liberal Party," *Ibid.*, August 1937; and "The Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Socialist Groups," *Ibid.*, October 1936.

⁷For a more detailed description, see Joseph R. Starr, "Summer Schools and Other Educational Activities of the British Conservative Party," cited above, and A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, New York, 1912, pp. 496-7.

Research by Master Plan

New Virginia Council on Public Administration acts as coöordinator for research agencies; pooling of resources available for research facilitates effective exploration of public problems with minimum expenditure of time and money.

By RAYMOND UHL

Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia

THE foundations for a coöperative research undertaking in Virginia were already well laid in 1936. There were no less than seven official and semi-official agencies engaged in the study of problems of Virginia government—state and local—not to mention the activities of individual researchers in educational institutions. These were the Advisory Legislative Council, Virginia State Planning Board, Virginia Commission on County Government, Tax Economist, Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia, League of Virginia Municipalities, and Virginia State Chamber of Commerce.

The programs of these agencies overlapped at many points and at times two or more of them were studying identical projects without knowledge of the others. Practically no effort was being made to coördinate the several programs.

The Bureau of Public Administration had become keenly aware of this situation and proposed that a central clearing house be created to bring about a maximum coördination of the programs of these agencies which would eliminate unnecessary duplication and at the same time secure the coöperation of academic researchers in the solution of Virginia's problems. It was felt that such a development would bring about closer

coöperation: first, between the official research agencies themselves; second, between the academic researchers; and third, between official agencies and educational institutions. A pooling of resources available for research would facilitate the effective exploration of public problems with a minimum expenditure of both time and money.

The creation of new official planning and advisory agencies as well as extension of the activities of existing agencies and growing interest in public administration in institutions of higher learning emphasized the importance of making this step. Consequently, the bureau with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation sought to secure the coöperation of official, semi-official, and academic researchers in the development of a coöordinated program of research for the commonwealth.

It was apparent at once that a body should be created in which all of the agencies concerned would be represented. Governor Peery was sympathetic to the undertaking and as an initial step created the Advisory Council to the Bureau of Public Administration, composed of the Governor, the President of the University of Virginia, the Director of the Bureau, the Director of the State Planning Board, the Director of the

Division of Statutory Research and Drafting, the Executive Secretary of the League of Virginia Municipalities, the Chairman of the Advisory Legislative Council, and the Chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government. The advisory council did not view its function to be policy-forming but to advise the bureau on ways and means of securing the co-operation necessary to a future program of coöperative research. While it was essentially a planning agency, it did bring together the official groups most immediately concerned and its informal discussions resulted almost at once in a reduction of duplication.

During the year and a half in which the advisory council functioned the bureau succeeded in obtaining the coöperation of academic researchers in many of the institutions of higher learning and the groundwork was prepared for the next step. Up to this point the bureau was the core around which the plan evolved. It was the only link between official groups and academic researchers.

In June 1938 Governor Price was convinced that the steps taken had produced valuable results. He therefore created the Virginia Council on Public Administration which superseded the Advisory Council to the Bureau of Public Administration. This council was designed to bring together in one body official, semi-official, and academic research groups.

COUNCIL ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The entire coöperative research experiment is centered around two organizations, the Virginia Council on Public Administration and the

Bureau of Public Administration. The council stands at the apex of this structure. It is composed of the following members: James Hubert Price, *chairman*, Governor of Virginia; Robert Henry Tucker, *vice chairman*, Dean of Washington and Lee University; Rowland Andrews Egger, *secretary*, Director of the Budget; John Stewart Battle, State Senator and Chairman of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council; John Stewart Bryan, President of the College of William and Mary; Julian Ashby Burruss, President of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute; LeRoy Hodges, State Comptroller; John Lloyd Newcomb, President of the University of Virginia; Raymond Bennett Pinchbeck, Dean of the University of Richmond and Chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government; Hugh Pomeroy, Director of the Virginia State Planning Board; William Ridley Shands, Director of the Division of Statutory Research and Drafting; Morton Ludwig Wallerstein, Executive Secretary of the League of Virginia Municipalities.

At its organization meeting the council adopted the following statement of basic objectives:

I. This council was organized: first, to provide the machinery for conference and consultation among the advisory, research, planning, and educational agencies dealing with problems of public administration in Virginia; second, to encourage, promote, and give the most useful direction to coöperative efforts among researchers and educators working in the general field of public administration in the state.

II. The object of this conference and consultation is to implement and assist in providing an integrated, continuing effort to bring to bear, to the greatest practicable extent, the total intelligence and educational resources of the state upon outstanding governmental and administrative problems of Virginia, in order that duplication of effort may be avoided, more intensive and extensive research and educational programs in the field of public administration developed through effective and economical division of labor, and interest and activity in the field of public administration research and education stimulated in every segment of the political, social, and cultural life of the commonwealth.

III. This coöperation may be assisted and implemented in several ways:

(1) Personal contact

(a) By meetings of the council of such frequency as the Governor may deem desirable for the discussion of research and educational problems, programs, and developments in the work of the agencies represented in the council or in the work of individuals and agencies with which the council is in contact;

(b) By the establishment of *ad hoc* committees, after careful consideration shall have demonstrated the need for and usefulness of such, composed of council members and such other officials, researchers, and educators throughout the state as may be qualified by interests and attainments, and who shall be designated by the Governor, for the investigation of particular problems or promotion of particular programs

concerning which action through *ad hoc* committees may be deemed advisable, such committees to be assigned secretarial and technical advisory personnel from, or on the responsibility of, the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration;

(c) By convening small conferences, or round tables, composed of council members and such other officials, researchers, and educators throughout the state as shall be qualified by interests and attainments, and who shall be designated by the Governor, for the purpose of discussing research or educational problems or programs in connection with specified subjects in the field of public administration;

(d) By the encouragement and assistance of professional and other associations of officials, researchers, educators, and public employees dealing with problems of public administration;

(e) By the promotion and assistance of local councils of public administration, after careful consideration shall have demonstrated the usefulness of such, at the several centers of research and educational activity in the state.

(2) Systematic clearing of information

(a) By the expansion and frequent revision of the directory of specialists working in the field of public administration and allied fields which has been published by the Bureau of Public Administration;

(b) By the publication of an informal news bulletin at frequent intervals dealing with governmental or administrative problems requiring research or the development of pro-

grams of education for their popularization, and indicating the nature and state of progress of current research and educational projects in public administration throughout the state;

(c) By such other methods of disseminating information concerning public administration research and educational problems and developments in the state as the council may, from time to time, approve.

(3) Organization of specific co-operative programs of research and education in the field of public administration where and when it appears that the requisite talent and enthusiasm for the successful execution of such projects are available or may be developed.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED

In simplifying this structure the council has created an executive committee composed of Dean Tucker, *chairman*, Dr. Egger, Mr. Pomeroy, Colonel Hodges, and Dr. Uhl. This committee is empowered to act for the council in the interim between council meetings. At the suggestion of the bureau staff the executive committee recommended to the council that three *ad hoc* committees be created by the Governor. This recommendation was accepted and the Governor created:

(1) A Committee on a Master Plan of Public Administration Research

The Governor appointed this committee early in June 1939. In his letter of appointment the Governor defined the committee's purpose as follows: "To suggest a broad outline of needed researchers and studies

which should be undertaken as long-term projects by our official and semi-official planning and research agencies, and by our research men in the colleges and universities of the state." The committee has undertaken to carry out this mandate by (1) starting the preparation of a complete bibliography of all research done by both official and unofficial agencies and individuals on problems of Virginia's government in the past and at present; (2) the preparation of a directory of all private and public research organizations making studies at present; and (3) a directory of all individuals now engaged in public administration research in the state. With these data in hand the committee is of the opinion that it will be in a position to outline the master plan.

(2) A Committee on Popularization of Public Administration Research

This committee was set up by the Governor on the recommendation of the council and has as its purpose a long-term effort in the direction of systematic public enlightenment on outstanding governmental and social problems of the commonwealth. It was felt that there were vast riches of materials in the reports of many governmental agencies which could be made available in useful and interesting form for the teachers of social science subjects in the new curriculum, as well as for use in college and university social science courses.

(3) A Committee on Public Service Training

This committee was created for the purpose of taking definite steps toward promoting an effective and

integrated program of public service training throughout the state.

BUREAU A LIAISON AGENCY

While the council is the central clearing house for all coöperative research endeavors, the Bureau of Public Administration is the liaison agency between the administrative and academic researchers. Chronologically, the bureau is older than the council. It was created as a research agency in 1931 and was primarily concerned with the study of municipal problems. In 1936 there were certain factors present, as previously mentioned, which dictated a change both in policy and method. These factors were: first, the very considerable increase in public administration research, brought about by the creation of new official planning and advisory agencies and the extension of the activities of existing agencies, as well as the growth in interest in public administration in the institutions of higher learning; second, the conviction in the minds of many serious thinkers that more could be done to bring together the research accomplished by the staffs of the planning and advisory agencies and by researchers in academic and other organizations throughout the state; third, the desire on the part of official and semi-official planning and advisory agencies and of leaders in the academic public administration research movement to correlate their activities in a manner which would avoid duplicated effort, which would facilitate the effective exploration of public problems, and which would in general increase the usefulness of all their efforts to the people of Virginia;

fourth, the growing realization that the results of research and planning efforts must be incorporated into the educational processes of the state at all levels—primary, secondary, collegiate, and adult—if their implications are to be generally understood and supported, and their recommendations translated into legislative or administrative policies.

Change in method and policy necessitated a reorganization in the structure of the bureau. The staff was enlarged to include a director, assistant director, statistician and economist, a secretary, and a stenographer. Research by members of the staff has become secondary to the promotional aspects of the coöperative program although the bureau does continue to do some research.

The bureau is the secretariat of the Virginia Council on Public Administration. In this capacity it is the agency for carrying out the aims and objectives of the council and the committees of the council when the council expresses its policies through resolutions and decisions. It is the chief coördinating agency for the council and performs this function by making recommendations, by submitting proposed projects to the council and by designating from its own staff or elsewhere the secretaries of all committees of the council. When research projects are undertaken under the auspices of the council, its committees, or coöperating researchers and agencies, it is the duty of the bureau to secure this coöperation and to make every effort in bringing the projects to completion within designated time periods. The bureau publishes in mimeographed

form all studies receiving the approval of the council and the sponsorship of coöperating official and semi-official agencies.

This relationship, of course, does not end here. Often the bureau assists agencies represented on the council by securing researchers to make studies immediately under the directorship of those agencies. The bureau as secretariat of the council may promote a research project with the bureau in its capacity of a research agency in the same manner that it promotes a project with the League of Virginia Municipalities, the Virginia State Planning Board, or the Professor of Labor Problems at Washington and Lee University.

Finally, as secretariat of the council, the bureau publishes bi-monthly throughout the school year *Public Administration Notes* which is sent to all researchers in the commonwealth. This publication is designed to keep them informed on the progress of studies under way and of those being initiated.

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS

Closely allied to the council development is the growing importance of the Committee on a Master Plan of Research in Public Administration. This committee, which has undertaken the task of preparing a master research program, is apparently destined to assume leadership in the co-ordination of research activities within the structure of government itself. Free of the formalities of a council meeting, its members assemble at frequent intervals for discussions of the major problems confronting the commonwealth. Through this com-

mittee the activities of the State Planning Board, the Section on Fiscal Planning and Research of the Division of the Budget, the Advisory Legislative Council, the League of Virginia Municipalities, and the Bureau of Public Administration are coöordinated. This phase in the development of the research structure of the state cannot be overemphasized. Constant coöperation through this agency of the council is making continuous coördination of research efforts a reality. For research activities to have any appreciable effect on government itself, it is necessary to know what the state needs. The informal nature of the master plan committee brings about a first-hand consideration and discussion of these problems in the very center of the state's planning and advisory agencies, which is reflected in the success thus far achieved.

Another observation of considerable importance is the success achieved in securing the general co-operation of individual researchers in private as well as public institutions of higher learning. Many of these are interested in making direct contacts with public administrators and are keenly interested in undertaking projects of value to official agencies of government at all levels. A considerable number of projects are under way and there is no doubt that once the master program is drawn up there will be little difficulty in securing the services of researchers to do the work.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The Virginia Council on Public Administration as the central clear-

ing house in the coöperative research structure has gradually evolved into an effective agency for bringing order out of the complicated field of governmental research. Through its influence the research work of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, the State Planning Board, and the Section of Fiscal Planning and Research of the Division of the Budget have been fitted into a frame of reference where friction and duplication are reduced to a minimum. The continuation of this work is essential to the development of the master program. Gradually, the research activities of the line departments and independent boards and commissions are being coördinated and the relationship between the academic researcher and the actual administrator is becoming clearly evident.

The creation of the new Fiscal Planning and Research Section in the Budget Office has given the Governor an effective research group for making continuous reorganization studies and for making surveys of immediate application in fiscal planning. This frees academic researchers for undertaking the long-range projects which must form the major portion of a master plan. This was one of the principal objectives for which the council was set up and it has been one of the chief endeavors of the bureau to make this objective more nearly a reality.

In the past the academicians have played an important role in assisting public administrators in Virginia. Many have given their time to survey commissions and others have become actual administrators. The constant interchange of ideas between the tech-

nical researcher and the administrator is an ideal worth striving for. Obviously, all the college researchers cannot be given actual administrative positions and all the administrators cannot be sent back to the colleges. The coöperative research undertaking in Virginia does give a basis for a relationship between the two which enables each to be mutually helpful to the other. The bureau as secretariat of the council has been bending every effort towards making this new relationship a normal procedure in the solution of Virginia problems. It is in this field that the bureau finds its greatest usefulness.

Experience of the last three years shows beyond doubt that forces have been released which are gaining increased momentum as they go. At the beginning of the experiment the bureau staff proceeded cautiously in preparing the groundwork for this development. Personal contacts were made, the aims and objectives of the enterprise were carefully explained, but no one was asked to commit himself to any line of action. Once the Virginia Council on Public Administration reached its stride the staff found that the foundation so carefully laid in the twenty-odd institutions of higher learning in the commonwealth was ready for its superstructure.

With the increased impetus given the program by the council the bureau staff has been securing the services of researchers for undertaking the projects requested by the official agencies acting through the council. Once a project is undertaken the bureau maintains constant contact with the researcher. Assistance in the form of materials, consultation, and

the making of contacts between the parties concerned has become a normal function of the staff. Through the connections which the bureau staff maintains in the staff and line departments of the state government, much material and information are secured which probably could not readily be obtained, if at all, by an individual researcher. When studies are completed they are cleared through the bureau which accepts responsibility for checking data, editing, and often-times rewriting of large sections of them. Once the studies have been officially approved by the agencies of government requesting their preparation, the bureau publishes them in mimeographed form. While these duties are time-consuming it is still the hope of the staff that its members may themselves par-

ticipate in some of the research projects. The development of the master plan will inevitably increase the administrative work of the bureau and its own research activities will of necessity be greatly curtailed and perhaps be reduced to providing the tools with which others may work. The bureau is at present engaged in compiling the new directory of researchers, the directory of research organizations, and the comprehensive research bibliography mentioned above.

The organizational structure for coöperative research in Virginia is apparently sound. The council as the keystone of the structure is working effectively. The avenues for co-operation are wide open. The master plan as the program of action is the order of the day.

It's 500, Now

A BUSINESS man who made hundreds of cities what they are today is now receiving congratulations from his 500th municipal god-child.

On April 2 voters of **Superior, Wisconsin**, approved a council-manager charter for their city, bringing the total of manager plan cities to 500, according to the official count maintained by the International City Managers' Association and the National Municipal League. In addition, there are six manager counties. Superior is a city of 36,113 population on the west end of Lake Superior, opposite Duluth, Minnesota.

Verification of manager plan adoptions at recent town meetings in Maine and Vermont will probably soon bring the total number of council-manager communities to 507.

The man responsible? Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League. Mr. Childs thought of the manager plan more than thirty years ago.

Newark Makes Labor Peace

Labor Relations Board in two years of service settles wide range of disputes touching a variety of trades and occupations.

By WILLIAM L. NUNN
University of Newark

IN ROOM 304, City Hall, Newark, New Jersey, sit Mr. L. Hamilton Garner, a rufous ex-minister, director since October 1937 of the Newark Labor Relations Board, and a staff of two persons. It is in Newark, center of the most diversified industrial area in the United States, that the approach of Edward F. McGrady¹ to labor settlements, as outlined in the March issue of the REVIEW, has reached its full development.

Prior to the creation of the Newark board the upsurge of labor organization had presented to the city problems not unlike those confronted in Toledo and elsewhere. Along with other executives, Mayor Meyer C. Ellenstein of Newark had heard Mr. McGrady tell of the Toledo plan at a meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors. An exchange of letters, both with the Mayor of Toledo and Mr. McGrady, was followed by a trip to Toledo by a Newark observer. Separate conferences with representatives of Newark industry and labor were held by the Mayor. Slowly an ordinance was drafted which, although based on the Toledo plan, went much beyond it in many particulars.

The Toledo ordinance merely took over in the name of the city a board that was already functioning and

made no provision for clearly defining its powers, duties, and procedures. The Newark ordinance, on the contrary, is a lengthy document and provides for:

(1) The establishment of a Newark Labor Relations Board;

(2) The broad purposes of the board in seeking commercial and industrial expansions; harmonious relationships between employer and employees based on mutual understandings and satisfactory working conditions; peaceful negotiation and adjustment of difficulties; and the avoidance and rectification of industrial disputes, loss of wages and purchasing power, and bitter antagonisms;

(3) Appointment of a board of ten members to serve without compensation for a period of three years each; three to represent management, three to represent labor, and four, one of whom is to be elected as chairman, to represent the public;

(4) Appointment of a paid executive director who shall be "independent of political allegiances and affiliations";

(5) Mediation of disputes between management and labor;

(6) Voluntary composition and discontinuance by management and labor of wasteful practices;

(7) Gathering and interpretation of data in the field of labor relations including special industry studies, employment data, etc.;

(8) Coöperation with the Court of Chancery in the matter of litigation and labor injunctions;

¹Then assistant secretary of the United States Department of Labor.

(9) Protection to both employers and unions who may voluntarily withdraw from discussions at any time; also protection from any public conclusion by the board as to the merits of the controversy;

(10) Free arbitration services to both contestants when requested;

(11) The services, to industry and labor, of the director, the chairman, and the board members, either as a full board or in panels;

(12) Assistance to the board of appropriate state, federal, and private agencies and persons;

(13) Keeping of records of disputes, settlements, and procedures of the board.

LABOR ORDINANCE ADOPTED

The proposed ordinance was first submitted at two separate meetings to a total of seventy-five or a hundred leaders of labor and representative employers. With minor changes but with prolonged discussion the ordinance was accepted. It was adopted by the city commissioners on April 7, 1937, and the sum of \$15,000 was appropriated to the board.

The members of the board, who may be either residents or taxpayers of the city, employed in the city, or employers of Newark labor, comprise a rabbi, a Y. M. C. A. secretary, a dentist, and a university professor as representatives of the public; the president of a leading department store, treasurer of a manufacturing concern, and president of a large scrap iron assembling and shipping yard as representatives of management; and the secretary-treasurer of the Allied Printing Trade Council (A. F. of L.), regional director of the

Congress of Industrial Organizations, and president of the local Newspaper Guild, as representatives of organized labor. When the latter appointment was made, the Newspaper Guild was a part of the A. F. of L. and the appointment was made primarily to secure on the board a representative of white collar workers. Somewhat similarly other appointments were determined in order to make the board as complete a cross section of Newark as possible, with the result that one member is a woman, one a Negro, one is of Italian origin, while another is Irish; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are represented.

The board elected the university professor as chairman who served until the end of 1939, and after interviewing numerous candidates, it unanimously recommended to the Mayor the appointment of the present director. Board meetings are held once a month at which time the director renders a report and broad matters of policy are discussed and decisions reached. In about 95 per cent of the cases the director, without assistance from the board, is able to secure settlements satisfactory to both contesting parties. In the remaining cases he has the services of either the chairman or a three-member panel from the board, or both.

Mediation is preferred in reaching *initial* settlements, but arbitration is not frowned upon. If the latter is acceptable, the arbitration panel is drawn up by the chairman or the director in consultation with both contestants and is usually made up of board members. Both parties are

encouraged to agree to arbitration provisions in all contracts which of course run only for the duration of the contract. In such cases the arbitration machinery and personnel is agreed upon in advance and becomes a part of the contract. In this way stoppages are avoided, if interpretations differ as to the terms of the settlement. No case has as yet arisen where any contract which the board has had anything to do with has been broken either by employers or by unions.

RECORD OF SETTLEMENT

About 30 per cent of all cases are brought to the board by employers, about 60 per cent by employees and union officials, while the remaining 10 per cent are referred to the board by interested citizens or by the director voluntarily offering the services of the board to both parties. In about 90 per cent of the cases the board has been able to effect a settlement satisfactory to both parties. The remaining 10 per cent of the controversies were either referred to other agencies or became moot with the passage of time or by Chancery Court action.

In the first year of operation, from October 1937 to October 1938, a total of seventy-two disputes was handled by the board. These involved about 5,000 employees directly and approximately 15,500 indirectly. Only eighteen of these were strike situations when brought to the board. In no instance did a serious dispute that had all the elements of an incipient strike in it, reach strike proportions after the case was brought to the board.

It is interesting to note that comparisons with A. F. of L. and C. I. O. disputes and strikes in Newark are conducive to no conclusions. Up to October 1938, 59.3 per cent of the disputes not involving strikes were with the A. F. of L. unions, while 33.3 per cent were with C. I. O. unions. However, 72.3 per cent of the strikes during the same period were with C. I. O. unions while 27.7 per cent were with A. F. of L. unions. In the latter case 64.5 per cent of the workers involved in strikes were A. F. of L. members while 35.5 per cent were affiliated with the C. I. O.

The office records from October 1938 to July 1939, when added to those of the first year, show a total of 106 disputes and forty-nine strikes mediated by the Newark board. The A. F. of L., with sixty-nine disputes and twenty-eight strikes, as compared with C. I. O., which had twenty-eight disputes and twenty-one strikes, had taken the lead, but only as a result of an epidemic of relatively small disputes in retail stores and restaurants.

Disputes have involved a wide variety of trades and occupations, and include nurses, chorus girls, musicians, department store clerks, cleaners and dyers, garment workers, iron and steel workers, cooks, bartenders, bakers, waiters, newsboys, milk drivers, truckers, laundry workers including diaper washers, domestic servants, building maintenance employees, and factory workers of many types.

The periodic disputes in retail stores, laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and trucking concerns, caused the board to appoint

special panels from the board to deal with these cases and to secure competent research services for special industry studies with a view to eliminating causes of perpetual friction. Periodic conferences between management and union officials have resulted in the partial elimination of some of these causes; permanent joint committees of labor and management have been formed under the auspices of the board and progress is being made with basic problems.

BOARD PROVES EFFECTIVE

The chief gain, however, is that an agency, hitherto unknown, has demonstrated its effectiveness at one of the most significant tension-creating points in the welfare of the community. At the first suspicion or hint of a conflict in a given plant the machinery of the board begins to function. Existing data is culled for any information dealing with the particular industry and company concerned which might be of assistance to the board in settling the controversy. Telephone calls and visits to the union office and the industrial plant place the board at the disposal of both parties and furnish day-to-day information as to the progress of negotiations.

If a satisfactory solution is not forthcoming, the parties are persuaded to move the conferences to the offices of the board. Here joint discussions as well as separate conferences with the two groups continue, with the director, and sometimes members of the board, sitting in.

Charges, countercharges, demands, counter-demands, and now and then

even more tangible things, fly back and forth. "Let them get it out of their systems," seems to be the motto of the mediator, who has turned into a good listener. Sometimes, as the ashtrays overflow and the air gets thicker, the mediator begins to see the probability of a compromise here, a dropped demand there, the need for a permanent management-union committee to settle infant conflicts before they grow to Paul Bunyon proportions. Ideas of acceptable seniority rights, uniform personnel policies, a preferential shop, wage and hour adjustments begin to take shape. Now it is the mediator's turn to carry the ball. The sole interest is a solution satisfactory to both parties. He proposes possible settlements. Provisions are juggled, alternatives are offered. A proposed contract is written and submitted.

The parties break up, reconvene, changes are suggested and agreed upon. The conference comes to an end; tired men go to present the suggested agreement to union members and company officials.

Another conference is held amid banter and good fellowship. Signatures are affixed. No violence, no arrests, no scare headlines, no loss of payrolls, no disrupted community mores—the citizen is not aware of either the problem or the solution. The board turns to another case.

More and more the Newark board has been called upon to hold elections among employees and to certify collective bargaining agencies. This continues to occur even with companies engaged in interstate commerce, where the National Labor Relations Board has legal jurisdiction.

In such cases generally the speed with which the local board can work is given as the reason for such requests.

The board has at all times maintained cordial relations with the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor and with the National Labor Relations Board. In the latter case the activities of the board begin where the work of the National Labor Relations Board ends. Thus, as soon as a given union has been certified by the federal agency as the collective bargaining agent the Newark board begins to mediate the dispute and effect a working agreement between the employer and the certified union.

Any evaluation of such municipal boards must take into consideration the personnel of the board itself. It must be obvious that the board's influence is directly conditioned on the degree to which it can render speedy, impartial assistance to all concerned. Granted that influence, the total cost to the taxpayer is slight in light of the savings in payrolls and purchasing power without which the entire community tightens its belt a few notches.

A substantial gain is to be noted

in the degree of good faith and mutual understanding which such a board is able to impart to a community. Bitterness and suspicion tend to give way around a conference table presided over by less partial persons who have a genuine desire to effect a settlement. More intelligible contracts come into existence, the terms of which, because of shop-conference provisions and arbitration clauses as well as general clarity, last for the duration of the contract. Where such contracts provide for direct negotiation between the union and the employer thirty to sixty days before expiration, and where the union and the employer have learned to "live together," the assistance of the board is not needed during renewal discussions.

In this way the board does what it is supposed to do, i.e., work itself out of a job as management and labor carry on without appeals to city hall.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second article on municipal industrial peace boards. The first, on Toledo's Industrial Peace Board, appeared in the March issue of the REVIEW. A third article, dealing with efforts of other cities toward solving labor problems, will appear shortly.

Planners Discover Diplomacy

The "World of Tomorrow" cannot be achieved by today's plans without the concurrence of the citizens of today.

By LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH
Indiana University

WHAT is planning?¹ The planning expert, in his own mind, feels that he cannot give a wholly satisfactory definition of the scope of planning. Shall it be limited to physical planning, or shall it include economic planning? Governmental jurisdictions partially supply the answer to this question. Detailed physical planning is usually administered within the sphere of local governments; economic planning and the broader aspects of physical planning are functions of the national government. States and regions act as coordinators for local plans and as administrative subdivisions for national plans.

Administrative areas, however, do not define the fields of planning. Within administrative jurisdictions are a wide variety of subjects which may be included in a plan. So varied are these subjects that little in our daily lives may be logically excluded from planned action. But the planners have no desire to expand over so wide a field. Despite past activities embracing a wide scope, planners are anxious to delimit their field. The most feasible method sug-

gested is that certain pressing problems be given preferential attention. Thus, for the present, planning would confine itself to making provision for adequate and proper employment, shelter, health, recreation, and communication. Other problems may demand immediate attention in certain sections, but those listed usually represent the ones which are most provoking.

The scope of planning thus arbitrarily delimited, a more important problem confronts us. To what use have existing plans been put? And the plans that will be drawn—will they too be published only to gather dust on the shelves? Plans may be effected in two ways. The totalitarian state has frequently been referred to as "the planner's paradise." There, plans are formulated and vigorously administered, considering not the opinions of the populace but only the technical utility of the plan. Few American planners are more "planners" than they are "Americans." In other words, our planners think not only of utility but also of the democratic process. A democracy may plan—but execution is subject to the veto of the people. This situation frames the basic problem of planning in America.

Planning Strategy

The American planner must cater to this American way; he must, therefore, devise a means by which his plans will be realized without imposition upon the democratic process. Committed to these

¹Among the sessions which were a part of the National Municipal League's program for its 1939 convention in Indianapolis, was one on planning. Participating were some of the nation's foremost practicing planning technicians. General objectives, basic principles, and methods of achieving the realization of plans provided the basis for discussion. The writer, who was present during the two-day session, has based this article largely on his interpretation of the opinions expressed by the planners themselves.

principles, but with an innate professional bias toward utility, the planner must educate his fellow citizens to a point of view in which the ideal is tempered by the practical. Planners have evolved a strategy which consists of the following forms of action: direct attempts to stimulate citizen interest, substitution of positive plans for those of a negative character, release of plans at opportune times, and emphasis upon the advisory status of planning agencies. One or more of these methods have been used by planning agencies for varying lengths of time. A fuller explanation of each will clarify the problems of the planner.

Planning can make its surest progress by stimulating citizen interest in the subject. This stimulation, and hoped for education, can probably be best achieved by allowing certain physical improvements, which are the result of planning, to speak for themselves. Charts, maps, and tables must be imbued with an additional ingredient—planning appeal—in the form of money savings, increased utility, or decreased urban ugliness. As plans are accepted and transformed into reality the citizen must be informed of the role that planning has played in the achievement of the physical improvement. A conditioned reaction must be created; the citizen must be taught to think of physical changes or improvements only with consideration of plans and planning experts.

Positive vs. Negative Plans

Public support may also be won by the substitution of positive plans for those of a negative character. Zoning is the most frequent form of negative planning. As one planner expressed it,

it is "thou-shalt-not legislation." There is need for greater stress on the protective rather than the restrictive effects of a well drafted zoning ordinance. Presentation of plans as "what to do" rather than "what not to do" will be accepted with more grace by citizens. Planning, to be effective, must be affirmative.

An important phase of planning strategy is the release of plans at opportune times. Plans are more likely to gain public support if submitted for approval when citizens have been awakened to the desirability of solving some pressing problem. Planning projects should be undertaken in those fields where the public is most likely to recognize an inefficient or undesirable situation. Ideally this approach would result in the following situation: the planning board, having studied outstanding problems, will have had plans prepared. Then, when public sentiment for change becomes overt, the board will be in a position to offer a plan to the community, or its legislative body, for consideration. The planning board would not attempt to coerce any group. It would merely submit its proposal as expert opinion on the best method of attaining what the public desires and meriting, therefore, acceptance by the legislative or citizen body.

Of the greatest importance is the status which planners wish to gain. The planning authority must stress its advisory nature when acquainting administrative officials with its work. It is through coöperation with local officials, in an advisory and research capacity, that planning will advance and planners will be recognized. Aid to local

(Continued on Page 256)

Comments in Brief

Democracy and the Individual

AS A positive philosophy democracy asks that the common man be given his chance to come to his own best self; it aspires to keep open to all the way of individual opportunity and development—to guarantee all a chance in spite of differences in physical vigor, mental equipment, and social background. C. A. DYKSTRA, President of the University of Wisconsin.

Needed: An Alert Citizenship

THE greatest danger to government, either state or national, is when the indifference of the people permits those holding elective or appointive offices to function without the keen and ever alert participation of the people themselves. GOVERNOR HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD of North Dakota.

A Lesson Still to be Learned

WHEREAS, in simple matters—like shoemaking—we think only a specially trained person will serve our purpose, in politics we presume that everyone who knows how to get votes knows how to administer a city or state. When we are ill we call for a trained physician whose degree is a guarantee of specific preparation and technical competence—we do not ask for the handsomest physician or the most eloquent one. Well then, when the whole state is ill, should we not look for the service and guidance of the wisest and best? PLATO (quoted in *The [Wisconsin] Municipality*).

Reporting to the Citizen

THE annual municipal report is only one method of reaching the citizen. A definite year-round program of public reporting might also include an attractive leaflet sent out with tax bills or handed out with tax receipts, a movie of municipal activities, regular and special radio broadcasts, a municipal open house and exhibits, and talks before local civic groups. It is well for all public officials to recall the statement by James Madison back when it was much less necessary to report governmental activities than it is today, "A popular government without popular information or a means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy." *Public Management*, Editorial.

Hanover Finds Manager Plan Efficient

NOW in its twelfth year under Borough Manager Chester A. Eckbert, Hanover has become one of the most efficiently run small municipalities in the state [Pennsylvania], according to the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* in a special article.

The borough owns its own waterworks, sewage plant, market, fire department, parks, and ambulance. It has an assessed valuation of \$5,325,310, a fourteen-mill tax rate, and a bonded debt of only \$204,500.

Commenting on the progress of his administration, Manager Eckbert says,

"what we try to do here is never to ask for anything until we know just where the money is going to come from." [Pennsylvania] *Borough Bulletin*.

Home Rule for Pittsburgh?

FIRST of all, Pittsburgh must have home rule, the right to reorganize its government as its citizens see fit. As matters now stand, it requires an act of legislature to transfer janitor service or garbage disposal from one department to another, and coördinated with this is our problem of a governmental unit which is not in any way coterminous with our economic unit. The government of the city of Pittsburgh simply does not represent or control the actual economic and social limits of this city. MAYOR C. D. SCULLY of Pittsburgh.

Public Relations and Local Government

IN PRINCIPLE, in theory, as well as in practice, all local government (in its servicings and in its administrations) is, in its last and final analysis, a mutual partnership.

The producer of services is the municipality or the city, and the consumer of these services is the citizen. *Municipal Review of Canada*.

A Uniform System of Taxation

I STRONGLY urge a system of taxation that will bring uniformity throughout every state of the union, that will avoid duplication and overlapping that will increase the efficiency of the tax-collecting system, decrease the cost of collection, and thereby reduce the tax burden. MAYOR F. H. LA GUARDIA of New York City.

PLANNERS DISCOVER DIPLOMACY

(Continued from Page 254)

authorities may take such form as drafting model zoning legislation, suggesting standards for health and recreational facilities, traffic facilitation, subdivision control, and serving as a general clearing house for planning information. These functions can best be realized if the planner is recognized as an expert technician. Planners desire to gain the standing of an administrative profession in government to whom the public and its representatives will turn

for technical formulation of their wishes.

Thus, we find another phase of government emerging as a professionalized field. It offers its aid to both citizen and official. But the "world of tomorrow" cannot be achieved by today's plans without the concurrence of the citizens of today. Plans have been made and will be made—stimulating, practical, and constructive. The planner is waiting for the public to take the initiative so that he may aid in the improvement of our physical surroundings.

Contributors in Review

LAST month's issue of the REVIEW carried **William L. Nunn's** first article on municipal industrial peace boards. *Newark Makes Labor Peace* is the second. Mr. Nunn teaches economics at the University of Newark and was a member of the Newark Labor Relations Board until the end of 1939.

HOW New London got through the 1938 hurricane was described by **Julius Arthur Offstein** (*City Management vs. Partisan Politics*) in December 1938 in this magazine, and now he progresses to a description of how the same city stands political weather. Since 1937 Mr. Offstein has been a graduate student in government and sociology at Yale. New London government was the subject of his Master's dissertation as well as of a monograph written for the Social Science Research Council.

FROM the box seat on the governmental arena that a research bureau affords, **S. S. Sheppard** (*It Won't Be Long Now*) has been watching post-Long New Orleans since his appointment as executive secretary of the New Orleans bureau in 1937. Before that Mr. Sheppard was assistant executive secretary of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Hailing from Colorado, he came to municipal research via Colorado College and Syracuse University.

POLITICAL and administrative geography is a particular interest of **Raymond Uhl** (*Research by Master Plan*). Mr. Uhl came to the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia from undergraduate and graduate study at the University of Virginia, with a detour to Johns Hopkins University for a Ph.D. He began as secretary of the bureau and has since become acting director and assistant professor of political science. He has written widely for political science periodicals.

TWENTY-SEVEN and unmarried, **Leon Weaver** (*Politics Without Patronage*) has had plenty of varied experience. Mr. Weaver taught for three years in the public schools; worked in the county treasurer's office in Pike County, Illinois; served with the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; worked as area supervisor with the Illinois Local Finance Survey. He is now a research assistant in the department of political science at the University of Illinois. An earlier article by Mr. Weaver in the *American Political Science Review* dealt with rural precinct committeemen.

PART of an experiment is **Lawrence H. Wendrich** (*Planners Discover Diplomacy*). He holds one of the six fellowships awarded by Indiana University for the Institute of Politics which it is sponsoring in conjunction with the National Municipal League. Sandwiched in with undergraduate study at the University of Newark and graduate study at New York University (Master's thesis—the Problems of Consolidation of the Governments in Essex County, New Jersey), Mr. Wendrich worked one year as a law clerk and five years in the home office of the Prudential Insurance Company.

The Researcher's Digest: April

GRA—Public Administration Committee controversy reviewed; South Dakota radio series; Schenectady pensions; new Massachusetts bureau.

A MIMEOGRAPHED report issued in January by the **Governmental Research Association**, containing memoranda by Frederick P. Gruenberg of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee, William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, Loren B. Miller of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, and W. E. Mosher of Syracuse University, chairman of the executive committee of the GRA, tells the story of the by now famous survey of local governmental research bureaus sponsored by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council which has stirred up controversy in the governmental field ever since its completion.

After about a year and a half of work, the Public Administration survey was completed in tentative form and circulated among the GRA members for criticism. It was the work of Frederick P. Gruenberg and Norman Gill. Mr. Gruenberg explains that he was in charge of the study during the first year of its progress, but that his connection was then terminated and the survey was continued by Mr. Gill, who had up to that time served as his assistant.

Mr. Miller's memorandum relates that "results . . . of the survey produced a large two-volume report which, when submitted to various members of GRA for comment, we are told drew response ranging from broad praise to heated dispute. Yet, at least among a number of responses I was privileged to see, not only was there general conformity in objecting to the report, but in fact remarkable uniformity."

One of the chief reasons for these objections, it appears from the memoranda, is that the study entered not only into the work of the private citizens bureaus of municipal research but also into institutional research bureaus, such as those maintained by universities. According to Mr.

Miller: "The Public Administration Committee's purpose was to survey research in public administration in all its manifestations, of which local citizen research agencies were but one. This had far-reaching and direct implications with respect to our attitude toward the report. The report surveyed research in public administration. Without question local citizen research agencies have contributed notably to this cause, a fact substantiated by the findings of the survey. It also is true that since the advent of local citizen research agencies, other agencies also capable of research in public administration have emerged. In the minds of some, the report went so far as to imply that those other agencies are sufficiently established as to obviate the continuing need for local citizen research agencies as production media of research in public administration."

Such a conclusion, in the view of Mr. Miller, "is overshadowed by another fact of greater importance, a fact of fundamental difference between other public administration agencies and local citizen research agencies, and a fact which apparently had not been previously appreciated by the survey staff. Public administration research is the *purpose* of the other agencies. While research is still just as desirable a contribution when made by local citizen research agencies, the fact remains and must be recognized that research in public administration is a *tool* of local citizen research agencies and not their purpose. The primary purpose of citizen research agencies is citizen knowledge and control of government, using research as their particular tool or technique."

One result of the objections to the original report was the formulation of a new report by William Anderson and Joseph P. Harris which was presented

to the Committee on Public Administration. This new shorter report was largely confined to definition, in an attempt to sort out the separate aims and methods of the various types of governmental research units. Mr. Anderson stresses that "it was not prepared primarily to propose any changes in the GRA, but rather to present a bird's-eye-view of the present situation with respect to research in public administration in the United States.

Neither the Gruenberg-Gill report nor the Anderson-Harris report has been or will be published but the mimeographed report by the Governmental Research Association (*Governmental Research—An Appraisal and a Reply*) is intended as a summary of the controversy which developed around them.

"You and Your Government"

Fitting, perhaps, into the category of those research units for whom research is a purpose, rather than a tool (as the two are distinguished by Mr. Miller), is the newly organized **Governmental Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota**, at Vermillion, which published on February 29 the first of its series on state, county, municipal, and school government and sources of public information in South Dakota. Volume I, No. 1, deals with *State Government*, a symposium of interviews with public officials on the bureau's "You and Your Government" radio series which began in January.

As described by the bureau's director, "The bureau has successfully completed its first experiment in civic education, a series of interviews with state officeholders broadcast over the leading South Dakota radio station. The interviews were wholly non-partisan in character and contained such valuable material on state government that it was decided to make them available for distribution. The result was the bureau's first publication. Participating in the radio series were the Governor, Secretary of State, Director of Taxation, Supreme

Court Justice, a circuit court judge, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

Pension Pothers

"After July first, nineteen hundred forty, membership in any pension or retirement system of the state or of a civil division thereof shall be a contractual relationship, the benefits of which shall not be diminished or impaired."

Nine propositions were submitted to the voters of New York State by the constitutional convention held in the summer of 1938. The first of the nine contained a miscellany of amendments, of which the amendment making existing pension systems a contractual relationship was one. When proposition one was approved by the voters, the pension amendment was automatically put into effect.

The results of such an amendment may well be imagined. Municipal pension and retirement systems are all too often non-actuarial in character, and the financial burden on a municipality forced to take over forever the obligations of existing systems could in some cases be ruinous. To the solution of the problem of transforming local pension systems before the July 1, 1940, deadline, the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** addressed itself. The results of its work are embodied in a sixty-four-page mimeographed report titled *Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York*.

Warning that "unless some step is taken immediately, we may anticipate an annual tax cost reaching a maximum of approximately \$150,000 shortly after 1960" as a result of pension obligations, the bureau recommends that policemen and firemen be transferred to the state pension system, thus permitting the city to spread the cost evenly over a period of about thirty years, with annual appropriations of about \$40,000. An alternative, the bureau found, would be to prohibit any retirements on pension before age sixty except for dis-

ability, increase the contributions required from the men, and require periodic examination of all men hereafter retired for disability before age sixty and make continued payments of disability pensions discretionary with the trustees.

The bureau's study treats exhaustively the financial consequences if no change is made in the existing pension system before July 1, and the financial aspects of the methods of adjustment it suggests.

Research Bureau at Massachusetts State College

The Massachusetts State College announces the organization of a Bureau of Public Administration as a section in the Department of Economics. Dr. Charles J. Rohr, assistant professor of political economy, has been appointed executive secretary. The new bureau will make available to public officials, local and state, as well as to interested private citizens and organizations, results of research in various fields of government and public administration.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessments

Assessed Valuations. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, February 1940. 1 p.

Automobiles

City and County Automobiles. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, March 7, 1940. 6 pp.

Debt

The Total Community Debt. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, March 4, 1940. 2 pp.

Finance

Cost of Government in Canada—Dominion Government. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, March 12, 1940. 4 pp.

How Provincial Revenues are Spent—Ontario. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, February 29, 1940. 4 pp.

Governmental Research

Governmental Research — An Appraisal and a Reply. Detroit, Governmental Research Association, January 1940. 20 pp. mimeo.

Pari-Mutuels

The Taxpayers' Stake in the Pari-Mutuels. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin*, February 24, 1940. 2 pp.

Pensions

Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. January 10, 1940. 64 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Expenditures for Public Assistance. Providence Governmental Research Bureau. February 1940. 4 pp.

We Hope This Jars You. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research. *Subscribers' Bulletin No. 86*. March 6, 1940. 1 p. mimeo.

Schools

School Pay Rates and State-Aid Requirements. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State. *Bulletin*. February 16, 1940. 2 pp.

State Government

State Government. The Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, February 29, 1940. 46 pp.

Tax Delinquency

Automobile Tax Delinquency Costs General Taxpayer Two Cents on Current City Tax Rate. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency & Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar*, March 6, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

New England Towns Adopt Manager Plan

Indiana Study Commission to Recommend Manager Amendment

Interstate Barriers Discussed

Edited by

H. M. OLMSTED

Bridgton, Jay, Linneus, Hodgdon, and **Norridgewock, Maine**, all voted at their annual meetings in March to adopt manager government.

Bar Harbor, Maine, voted on March 5 in favor of the manager plan but the state legislature must approve the charter before it becomes effective.

Millinocket, Maine, voted at its town meeting to have a manager charter drawn up for submission at a special election.

Vergennes, Vermont, at its annual council meeting March 5, adopted the city manager plan for the ensuing year, by a vote of 247 to 240. **Randolph, Vermont**, also adopted the plan on the same day by a vote of 196 to 68.

Fair Haven, Vermont, is considering adoption of the town manager plan. A committee has been appointed to study the plan. **Castleton**, in the same state, approved continuation of the manager plan adopted a year ago.

Panama City, Florida, began operation under its new manager charter on March 8.

In **Chicopee, Massachusetts**, the chance for a vote this year on the city manager—proportional representation form of government (Plan E under Massachusetts statutes) has been furthered by a decision of the State Ballot Law Com-

mission against the submission to a referendum this year of the alternative Plan B, which is generally regarded as having been proposed in order to delay consideration of Plan E for another two years. Efforts will be made by the supporters of Plan E to bring it to a referendum vote this fall.

The **Worcester, Massachusetts**, Good Government Association has approved Plan E. A committee that had studied various types of charters for eight months reported that Plan E was the "only one that has merit."

The **Brookline, Massachusetts**, Citizens' Committee recently sponsored a meeting to consider adoption of the town manager form of government. Several of the present town officials were among the speakers. One of the present selectmen favored the plan as eliminating the present absence of administrative responsibility and control.

In **Leominster, Massachusetts**, Councilor Paul R. Nettel, who proposed a Plan E charter for that city three years ago, has asked the Chamber of Commerce and the Taxpayers Association to sponsor a petition to have the plan placed on the ballot at the fall election.

Winnsboro, South Carolina, has voted 298 to 259 in favor of the manager plan. The referendum was to determine popular sentiment only; the results are not binding.

In **Nutley, New Jersey**, two civic organizations are giving careful consideration to the city manager plan. The Civic Affairs League invited a representative of the town commission, Manager Paul Volker of the town of Teaneck, and Mayor Newell of Bloomfield, to present the case for the commission, city manager, and mayor-council forms of government re-

spectively. The Nutley League of Women Voters arranged a public meeting to discuss city manager government.

The City Charter Commission of **Dunkirk, New York**, passed a resolution on March 6 providing for the completion of a city manager charter and submission thereof to the voters of the city at a special election.

The council of **Ottawa Hills, Ohio**, plans to submit a manager charter to the voters.

The city of **Monroe, Michigan**, has recently adopted charter amendments centralizing administration under a modified manager form.

A charter commission of nine members in **Pontiac, Michigan**, is drafting a new charter as a result of a vote to incorporate as a home rule city. The commission has agreed upon the manager form with a commission of four members and a mayor, elected biennially in the fall of odd-numbered years. Office of the clerk and treasurer will be filled by appointment for indefinite terms. The manager could hold the office either of treasurer or of clerk. A municipal court judge will be elected for a four-year term and a constable for a two-year term.

Huron, South Dakota, abandoned the manager plan on March 21.

Mayor Maury Maverick of **San Antonio, Texas**, has appointed a commission to draft a city manager charter.

In **Helena, Montana**, a Civic League has recently been organized to study city government and sponsor reforms from time to time which the membership feels will be beneficial to Helena. Membership in the league is open to anyone interested in civic development. As its first activity the league voted to sponsor petitions now being circulated for the city manager form of government.

In **Lakeview, Oregon**, the town council has adopted a resolution instructing the town attorney to prepare an ordinance, to be submitted to the voters next May,

authorizing the council to expend the needed funds to prepare a new town charter calling for a manager type of government.

A manager charter for **Central Falls, Rhode Island**, is pending before the state legislature.

Other cities interested in the manager plan include **Dumont, New Jersey**, and **Odessa, Texas**.

City Manager Enabling Amendment for Indiana?

A constitutional amendment will probably be recommended by the Indiana City Manager Plan Study Commission to effectuate the optional adoption of the manager plan by cities of the state. Although the submission of a constitutional amendment will delay the actual adoption of the manager plan by any Indiana city, the commission believes that in the long run the amendment procedure is much more certain and much more acceptable than an enabling act, which would not only be subject to change from time to time by the legislature but would meet with judicial difficulties, as did a previously enacted act.

The commission is now confronted with the task of determining the content of the constitutional amendment, more particularly in the following respects:

1. In addition to the power to determine its structure of government, what other home rule powers should be given to cities?
2. Should each home rule power be expressly set forth in the amendment, or should there be a general statement of such powers?
3. Should the language of the amendment insure to cities the right, without any question of doubt, to adopt proportional representation for election of councilmen?
4. Should the amendment be self-executing or should there be subsequent mandatory action of the legis-

lature to formulate machinery for making the amendment effective?

The National Municipal League and the Proportional Representation League are assisting the commission in its study.

The legislative resolution establishing the commission requires a report by October 1, 1940. If a constitutional amendment is acted upon favorably by the 1941 session of the General Assembly, it must be favorably acted upon by another general session of the Assembly before it can be submitted to the electorate. Therefore, the earliest possible date of submission would be 1943 and since there will be no statewide election in that year, the referendum will probably not take place until 1944.

VIRGIL SHEPPARD, *Member*

Indiana City Manager Plan
Study Commission

Managers Meet

The International City Managers' Association announces that its twenty-seventh annual conference will be held in Colorado Springs, September 23-26.

California managers held their mid-year conference at Stockton, February 22-24, with a new record of twenty-five city managers in attendance. Features were timely topics such as public relations, discussed by Richard S. Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities; in-service training at the management level, by City Manager James S. Dean of Sacramento; a critical analysis of council-manager cities, by Joseph P. Harris, University of California; and a paper by Herbert A. Simon, research associate, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California.

The South Carolina managers met at Columbia on February 8 in connection with the Municipal Association of South Carolina. All five managers were present. Among the subjects discussed were licenses, finance, and alcoholic beverage control.

City managers of Texas held a series of three sectional meetings of one day each in Big Spring, Austin, and Dallas. In-

service management training, office interviews, and other public relations items, methods of sustaining civic interest, etc., were discussed.

Town Government in Massachusetts

On March 4 the town of Methuen, Massachusetts, turned down a referendum proposal to petition the state legislature for incorporation as a city. The vote was 4,252 to 1,517. Methuen was a city from 1917 to 1921, but in the latter year the Supreme Court of Massachusetts declared the incorporation void because of the omission of certain procedural details. Methuen thereupon adopted a representative town meeting form of government, and has operated under it ever since.

On March 6 the town of Marblehead overwhelmingly turned down a proposal to petition the legislature for an act authorizing a representative town meeting. The vote was only four for such a petition out of over a thousand present.

LAURENCE L. BARBER, JR.

Harvard University

Municipal Mergers Urged

A report of a seven-month study by the Princeton Local Government Survey and the Governmental Research Department of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce points out the advantages of consolidation of the industrial cities of Passaic and Clifton, New Jersey, with populations of 63,000 and 57,000, respectively. Better police, fire, and health services, improved transportation, and an absence of costly rivalries and duplicated capital investments are urged as advantages. Passaic is now governed by a board of commissioners and Clifton has council-manager government. No form of government for the consolidated city is suggested.

In Illinois the city council of Granite City, of 23,000 population, has voted to invite the adjacent village of Nameoki, with 2,300 inhabitants, to merge with it.

Better municipal services without higher costs are proposed.

Voting Machines in Massachusetts Town

The town of Brookline was the first town in Massachusetts to use voting machines, when nine machines went into service in one precinct at the town election this March. Town Clerk Arthur J. Shinnery went on the air the night before the election to explain the workings of the machines, in what was announced as "the first time in the history of radio that a voting machine has been used in a broadcast."

LAURENCE L. BARBER, JR.

Harvard University

Interstate Trade Barriers Attacked Regionally

One of a number of regional meetings to work out solutions of interstate trade barrier problems was a conference in Chicago, on March 1, of representatives of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The meeting, to consider methods of untangling conflicting state regulations on liquor traffic, was called by the Illinois Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation and the Council of State Governments. As a result, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission took steps to check the bootlegging of Illinois liquor in neighboring states. A similar meeting, held recently in Buffalo, drew representatives from seven states.

Several other meetings have been held in recent months to solve trade barrier problems. One was an informal conference of motor vehicle administrators and co-operation commissions from ten midwestern states. The results were reciprocal agreements on various phases of the problem between Iowa and Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota, and Nebraska and Minnesota. A recent reciprocal agreement between New York and Michigan removed one interstate trade barrier when Michigan waived

the mileage tax and registration requirements formerly imposed on truck operators from New York, and New York waived fees of \$55 for trucks and \$30 for trailers imposed on Michigan operators. Now trucks from either state have free use of the other's highways.

The Council of State Governments launched the drive against trade barriers in April 1939, at the National Conference on Interstate Trade Barriers in Chicago. Although the immediate result was the repeal of many state trade barrier laws, and the rejection of proposals designed to raise trade barriers, there were many problems which could be solved only through conference to adjust relations of one state to another.

The Illinois Chamber of Commerce and the Wisconsin Chamber of Commerce are taking active part in the campaign against trade barriers in the region comprising those two states and Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, and Iowa. A conference on the problem as affecting that area is contemplated for the near future.

The Tax Policy League is making the question of "Tax Barriers to Trade" the central theme of its next national tax conference to be held in Chicago early in 1941.

South Carolina to Investigate Santee-Cooper Project

Governor Burnet R. Maybank has requested the General Assembly of South Carolina to order a "full, impartial, and fair investigation" of the South Carolina Public Service Authority, of which he was formerly chairman. The request resulted from charges of waste and incompetence against the authority in connection with the \$40,000,000 Santee-Cooper power and navigation development. An investigation has been predicted for many weeks, because of legislators' protests that not enough persons from their counties had received jobs; the state Santee-Cooper act calls for a pro rata distribution of em-

ployment among the unemployed in all the counties.

JAMES K. COLEMAN

The Citadel

Colorado to Vote on Civil Service Amendment

An initiative measure amending state constitutional provisions for civil service recently filed in Colorado will be placed before the voters of that state at the general election next November, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

An unusual provision of the initiative proposal is a requirement that members of the three-man civil service commission be appointed by the State Supreme Court. They will serve six-year overlapping terms, and may be removed by a majority vote of the court.

The measure also provides for appointment of a state personnel director, to be chosen by the Civil Service Commission from among the three persons ranking highest in an open competitive examination administered by a special committee of public personnel officials.

Iowa to Vote on Constitutional Convention

As provided by the state constitution of Iowa, the following question will be submitted to the voters at the regular 1940 election, this having been required every ten years since 1870: "Shall there be a convention to revise the constitution and amend the same?" Thus far the vote has been negative each time. If a majority of the votes cast favor a convention the following legislature must provide for the election of delegates.

Administrative Reorganization for Virginia

Reorganization of state departments dealing with finance, highway patrol, public welfare, prisons and parole, and mental

hygiene and hospitals is provided for in Senate Bill No. 205 before the legislature of Virginia. It calls for a commissioner of finance, appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the general assembly, to head a department comprising various divisions, the directors of which would be appointed by the commissioner subject to confirmation by the governor, except for the division of the treasury headed by the constitutional state treasurer.

A division of highway patrol, headed by a director appointed by the governor, would supplant the present division of motor vehicles.

Most of the present powers and duties of the board of public welfare and certain other agencies are transferred to the commissioner of public welfare, the board being continued in an advisory capacity.

A department of corrections, and a department of mental hygiene and hospitals, each headed by a commissioner, are established as regular administrative departments.

Merit System Progress for Teachers

Reports to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada indicate a growing interest in placing school teachers under local merit systems. Three Connecticut cities—Bridgeport, New Britain, and Norwalk—are the most recent to report action toward setting up a merit system for their school teachers, and the Chicago Federation of Teachers has gone on record as favoring competitive written examinations for promotions in the Chicago school system.

Municipal Sanitation Schools in Minnesota

The League of Minnesota Municipalities, in coöperation with the University of Minnesota Center for Continuation Study, conducted short courses for water works and sewage plant operators and plumbing inspectors during the week of March 25.

Pennsylvania School for Traffic Officers

The fourth annual Pennsylvania Traffic Officers Training School will be held May 13 to 24, 1940, at the Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. Former training schools have provided an admirable opportunity for more than a hundred officers to get the latest and most effective information on solving traffic problems by means of both classwork and field work. This year the general field of public safety will receive special emphasis. A one-week advanced course will also be given, May 20 to 24, for those officers who have satisfactorily completed the basic course in previous years or who have had equivalent training.

Funds Refused for Personnel Council, Cut for Planning Board

At a joint Congressional conference March 14 the Council of Personnel Administration, charged with coördinating the better-management program in government offices, was dropped from the appropriations list in the independent offices bill. Officials said that some of its important functions will be taken over by the national Civil Service Commission.

The conference committee retained the \$710,000 fund for the National Resources Planning Board, which the Senate had restored after the House eliminated the entire \$1,060,000 that had been asked.

National Board Surveys Local Planning

The National Resources Planning Board is undertaking a comprehensive survey of all local planning agencies in connection with a revision of its circular of May 15, 1937, entitled *Status of City and County Planning in the United States*. The survey will cover not only city, town, and county planning and zoning agencies but also district and metropolitan planning agencies, county agricultural land-use committees, soil conservation districts, and local housing

authorities. Reports on the last three types of agencies will be prepared in Washington; a field survey will be made to secure current data as to the others. It is to be hoped that all local agencies will be encouraged to coöperate fully in furnishing the desired information, to give as comprehensive a result as possible.

Annual Public Health Conference

The sixty-ninth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association will be held in Detroit, Michigan, October 8-11, with the Book-Cadillac Hotel as headquarters. The Michigan Public Health Association, the American School Health Association, the International Society of Medical Health Officers, the Association of Women in Public Health, and a number of other allied and related organizations will meet in conjunction with the association. It is expected that 3,500 health officials will gather for a series of scientific meetings covering all phases of health protection and promotion.

League of Women Voters Convention

The National League of Women Voters has announced that its biennial convention will be held in New York City April 29 to May 3, at the Commodore Hotel. Delegates from thirty-one states and 550 local leagues are expected. Three days of symposia are on the program, all relating to the general theme of "Principles Behind the Issues." On April 30 the discussion will be concerned with "Economic Society: Planned and Unplanned"; on May 1 it will be "Minerals, Trade, and Peace," and on May 2, "Fiscal Policies." Open sessions following the symposia are expected to develop debates of considerable value.

Wellesley Summer Institute

The central theme of the 1940 Summer Institute for Social Progress, at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, July 6-20,

will be "Building Democracy." Twelve morning lectures will be given on topics in two general groupings—the individual voter and power politics and the individual voter and the campaign issues of "prosperity," "economy," and "war and peace." These will be followed by group discussions.

Counties Enter Public Housing Field

Two counties may vote on manager plan

Edited by

ELWYN A. MAUCK

The United States Housing Authority has announced that six county housing authorities, located in various parts of the United States, have been approved to build homes for farm families of low income. The total cost of the 1300 projected homes will be \$2,805,000, 90 per cent of which will be financed by loans from the USHA bearing 2.75 per cent interest.

The local units that will construct and operate the projects with the assistance of the USHA are authorities established by Lonoke County, Arkansas; Thomas County, Georgia; Alexander County, Illinois; Vigo County, Indiana; Lee County, Mississippi; and Darlington County, South Carolina.

Although municipal housing authorities have become well known, county authorities are a comparatively recent development. Thirty-eight states have enacted legislation in regard to public housing for persons of low income. Such legislation usually (1) authorizes public housing agencies to issue bonds and acquire property by eminent domain or otherwise, (2) provides that the property and bonds of the agencies are exempt from taxation, (3) authorizes public bodies and private persons to invest in such bonds, and

(4) authorizes state public bodies to cooperate with public housing agencies or the federal government with regard to housing. Many states permit municipal housing authorities to build up to five or ten miles beyond the municipal boundaries, while a Florida statute provides that the Jacksonville Housing Authority shall embrace the whole of Duval County.

Sixteen states authorize county housing authorities. In addition there should be included the District of Columbia which has created an Alley Dwelling Authority and the three New England states of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut which have given similar powers to their towns (townships). Ohio permits such an authority to be established in an area comprising two or more subdivisions of a county but less than the entire county. Delaware makes permissive an authority embracing less than the county. The sixteen states are Arkansas, California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington. New York permitted county authorities but repealed the law as of July 1, 1939.

Sixty-four county authorities have been established in thirteen states, not including the housing authorities of the city-counties of Denver and San Francisco. They are:

ARKANSAS (10)

Clark
Cleveland
Conway
Drew
Jefferson
Johnson
Lonoke
Pope
Washington
White

ILLINOIS (11)

Alexander
Champaign
Coles
Gallatin
Henry
LaSalle
Madison
Montgomery
Rock Island
St. Clair
Tazewell

CALIFORNIA (2)

Kern
Los Angeles

INDIANA (2)

Delaware
Vigo

GEORGIA (1)

Thomas

MARYLAND (1)

Montgomery

MISSISSIPPI (26)	Yalobusha
Alcorn	
Claiborne	NEW JERSEY (1)
Coahoma	Passaic
Copiah	
Covington	OREGON (1)
Forrest	Clackamas
Franklin	
Hinds	PENNSYLVANIA
Jones	(6)
Kemper	Allegheny
Lamar	Delaware
Lauderdale	McKean
Lee	Mifflin
Madison	Montgomery
Montgomery	Schuylkill
Neshoba	
Newton	S. CAROLINA (1)
Oktibbeha	Darlington
Panola	
Perry	VIRGINIA (1)
Pontotoc	Warren
Prentiss	
Scott	WASHINGTON (1)
Tishomingo	King
Union	

The 1,300 houses to be built by the six county authorities are to be constructed at an average cost of \$2,000 including land. An annual rental charge of \$50 per dwelling, with annual contributions from the USHA to maintain low rents, will enable the amortization of the loan in sixty years. Only the very lowest income groups among farm families will be beneficiaries of the program. Maintenance and repair work by the tenants will be credited against the rentals charged them.

In design the dwellings will resemble those under the successive jurisdiction of the Subsistence Homesteads Corporation, the Rural Rehabilitation Program of the Resettlement Administration, and now under the Farm Security Administration. The houses will be of bungalow type, of clapboard construction, and composition shingle roofs. They will contain four to seven rooms and cost on an average \$1,600. Four hundred dollars is allowed to purchase an acre of land for each house. The houses will not be grouped together in colonies as under other public housing programs, and all families seeking occupancy

will be certified by the Department of Agriculture on the basis of ability to pay and disposition toward maintenance and repair work.

Los Angeles County to Vote on Manager Plan¹

In response to increasing sentiment that the manager plan has proved itself a success and should be made permanent the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, California, has acted to put the question on the ballot, probably at the general election to be held November 5, 1940.

A modified manager plan was adopted by action of the Board of Supervisors in August 1938, and Colonel Wayne R. Allen was appointed and has filled the post of chief administrative officer since that time. No action by the people was required, it being thought that a trial period should precede any decisive action. The plan has been so successful that the Board of Supervisors decided further action should be taken to give the residents an opportunity to express their opinion as to whether they wished the plan to be made permanent. The question to be submitted will take the form of a proposed amendment to the Los Angeles County charter, a step that long has been advocated by civic groups in the county.

Another Virginia County May Vote on Manager

A law recently enacted by the Virginia legislature will open the way for residents of Elizabeth City County to vote on the adoption of one of the state's optional manager plans. The law was passed in an attempt to forestall annexation of the county to contiguous units through action of an annexation court. The county fears

¹See John McDiarmid, *Streamlined County Government — Los Angeles Style*, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1939, p. 757.

its extinction through action similar to the procedure whereby Henrico County lost some of its territory to Richmond as reported in this section in February 1940.

New York County Loses Parkway Tolls

The New York State Court of Appeals in a four-to-three decision has stopped Westchester County, New York, from collecting further tolls from motorists using its parkways. The practice was begun last August when the state refused the county financial assistance for parkway maintenance.

The tolls had been collected for use of the Hutchinson River Parkway and collection was to be extended to the Saw Mill River Parkway. It had been anticipated that the tolls would result in revenue amounting to more than \$1,000,000 per year for the county with which it could amortize the debt on its \$65,000,000 park and parkway system. Seventy-five per cent of the motorists using the parkways are non-residents of Westchester County. Thus the plan was intended to shift a large part of the burden from residents of the county to users of the parkways. The ruling will not affect the projected toll system of the new Fleetwood viaduct, financed by \$1,800,000 in revenue bonds purchased by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The judges of the high court of the state divided regarding their classification of a "parkway." The majority believed that it constituted a "public highway," and therefore no authority had been granted to the county to place any encumbrances upon the use of such parkways. The minority, on the other hand, held a parkway to be a "park facility," in which the county acted in a "proprietary" rather than "governmental" capacity. From this point of view, local regulations were fully within the scope of the county's powers.

Westchester County is now faced with the problem of refunding the tolls collected,

of finding other methods of amortizing its parkway indebtedness, and perhaps of securing an amendment to the highway laws.

Hearst Papers Urge "Five Counties Plan" for California

Reiterating its position taken in 1934, the Hearst newspapers in California are once more proposing that the fifty-three counties of the state be reduced in number to five. The State Department of Finance is quoted as estimating that the proposed plan would save the taxpayers \$31,000,000 annually. It is stated that each new county could contain an important center of population to which the remainder of the county would be naturally tributary. In short, county boundaries would be readjusted to meet new social and economic conditions.

Toledo Manager League Renamed, Reorganized

Oakland Citizenship Day Planned

Edited by

ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

With a new name, a revised set of objectives, and a broadened program of activity, the former City Manager League of Toledo is preparing a threefold development which it hopes will make the organization the most potent force for good government in the community.

At the annual meeting late in February, the league membership voted to change the name of the four-and-a-half-year-old citizen group to the Municipal League of Toledo. Principal reason for the change was the confusion existing in the public mind about the meaning of the former name, which caused many persons to believe that the league was a department of the city government or was chiefly interested in perpetuating in office some individual official.

The move was in no sense an indication of a slackening in enthusiasm for the city manager—small council charter, under which Toledo's municipal government has made remarkable strides in four years and in the establishment and preservation of which the league has played a major role. The Board of Directors, in recommending the change to the membership, emphasized the belief that more members could be attracted and the organization made more effective if the confusion as to the organization's purposes were cleared up.

Threefold Program

A new set of objectives and a threefold program of action—educational, governmental, and political—to attain them also were approved by the membership. The objectives are:

1. Maintaining a type of government that will serve all citizens efficiently and impartially;
2. Securing legislative and administrative leadership of integrity, courage, and ability;
3. Giving such leadership continuing and effective support;
4. Holding the entire council strictly responsible for prompt action on city problems and economical operation of the city government, in accordance with the charter;
5. Maintaining an educational and publicity program to inform the citizens about their government.

Here is the League's program for 1940-41:

1. Extend its educational program by:
 - a. Issuing regular publications;
 - b. Sponsoring a series of district town hall meetings throughout the year for discussion of all city problems;
 - c. Using radio broadcasts for talks, discussions, and forums on city government;
 - d. Conducting appropriate ceremonies for newly naturalized citizens;
 - e. Sponsoring an annual Citizenship Day program for those reaching the age of twenty-one in the preceding year; holding district instruction meetings for young people to prepare them for citizenship;
 - f. Organizing inspection tours of local governmental units for *all* high school students;
 - g. Conducting an annual essay contest, with appropriate prizes, for *all* high school students on how local government operates.
2. Perform properly its governmental functions by:
 - a. Studying the principal problems of city council;
 - b. Making public recommendations regarding their solution;
 - c. Consulting with councilmen to effect action;
 - d. Maintaining constant observation at council meetings;
 - e. Publishing statements of approval or disapproval of council actions.
3. Obtain effective political action by:
 - a. Beginning a study of possible 1941 council candidates in November 1940;
 - b. Organizing workers throughout the city, months before the 1941 campaign, by intensifying activities of the Women's Division and Junior Division with district meetings and parties;
 - c. Endorsing a slate of the nine "best" candidates and conducting a vigorous campaign for their election;
 - d. Publishing a "rating" of every council candidate after thorough survey, and distributing to *all* the voters.

Hodges at Annual Meeting

Principal speaker at the annual meeting was Professor Henry G. Hodges, of the graduate school of public service at the University of Cincinnati, who delivered an inspiring and comprehensive address on "The Citizen and His City."

Professor Hodges warned the league that failure to keep democratic local administration in harmony with changing conditions eventually will bring a reckoning. Observing that democracy both begins and decays in our cities, he said that successful local government must be elastic enough to adjust its administration to the dynamics of modern society.

"The process of improvement in local government must be accompanied by a program of civic education," Professor Hodges

said. "Changes enforced from the top, lacking in public understanding and acceptance, are not likely to endure. Reform bolts from the blue do not always denote civic progress. When the citizen becomes vocally incensed, graft disappears; when he understands the processes of his city management, positive progress begins."

History proves that man acquires democratic institutions on all layers of government only through struggle, he declared. The future will prove that those institutions can be preserved only through education in the rights and duties of citizenship.

City Manager George N. Schoonmaker and Mayor John Q. Carey spoke briefly on progress of the administration. Three other city councilmen were introduced.

Eight members of the league's Board of Directors were elected at the meeting. These eight, with twelve holdovers, met later and elected ten more directors. The thirty elected, together with the president of the league's Junior Division, will comprise the new board, which will meet later this month to elect officers.

RICHARD P. OVERMYER,
Executive Secretary

Municipal League of Toledo

Detroit Citizens Get Budget Facts

Taxpayers of Detroit report complete success this year in achieving coöperation with city authorities in the annual budget process. Expert budget analysis has been furnished by the Bureau of Governmental Research and by the Board of Commerce through Willis H. Hall, director of tax research.

Fifteen years ago the Governmental Committee was organized by a few civic leaders, with secretariat in the Board of Commerce. A score of business and civic groups are members. Each year subcommittees have dug into departmental budget problems, submitting reports with criticisms to the mayor and council of nine.

Mayor Edward J. Jeffries this year has made possible complete teamwork in this

research and critical process. His economy program has commanded community respect. Apparently, his final budget decisions will not be materially changed by the city council. A powerful factor in this process has been the annual increase of interest and efficiency on the part of the Governmental Committee.

This experience has revealed to the Detroit groups that citizen attacks on alleged high taxes generally are futile unless accompanied by expert budget analysis with specific recommendations for budget changes. It also now appears that city officials of average competence will take seriously citizen recommendations provided they are based on real knowledge of facts, are not inspired by selfish motives, and are followed with practical support of the responsible official who adopts the citizen recommendations.

Civic and business organizations of Detroit have been virtually unanimous in their cordial support extended to the new administration of Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, who was installed January 2. His ambition, he states, is to be a mayor for the entire city and to be free of favoritism in all so-called political action. In this endeavor he is well supported by the three daily newspapers and by civic and business organizations generally.

This action-program is being followed consistently by members of the Detroit Citizens League and other civic agencies. At a recent league meeting two hundred citizens spent a session defining the problem of zoning in relation to housing and planning. It is expected that the new zoning ordinance, which results from long experience and investigation, soon will be passed by the city council. Prior to final passage the council and city plan commission have scheduled a score of public meetings, so arranged as to give all Detroit citizens reasonable opportunity to know the facts in the case and to support passage of the ordinance. Detroit is one of the few major cities which have delayed this kind of action far too long. The proposed

ordinance is a belated fulfillment of the requirement in the city charter adopted June 25, 1918.

W. P. LOVETT, *Executive Secretary*,
Detroit Citizens League

Citizenship Day Sponsored by Oakland Citizens League

On the third Sunday in May, Oakland County (Pontiac), Michigan, will hold its first Citizenship Day, reports the Oakland Citizens League, initial sponsor of the event.

S. V. Norton, a director of the league, attended last year the Citizenship Day ceremonies at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, where the plan originated, and was so much impressed that he reported to his own organization, which decided to invite all patriotic, civic, religious, and other organizations of the county to join with the Citizens League in sponsoring such a plan in Oakland County.

In coöperation with the Extension Division of the University of Michigan the sponsoring organizations will offer the twenty-one-year-olds of the area instruction in the organization of local, state, and federal government and the part that the individual voter plays in the democratic system of government. The new voters are organized in local groups arranged geographically for convenience. In the weeks preceding May 19, they meet with discussion leaders for instruction and discussion.

Voters of **Ann Arbor**, a town of 27,000 and seat of the University of Michigan, need not go to the polls blindly when candidates are to be chosen for municipal office. Well in advance of each primary and general election the Citizens' Council questions candidates on leading municipal issues and publishes their views for the information of the voters. Unlike organizations in many other cities, endorsements are withheld and the voter is urged to make up his mind for himself.

Tax Collections Return to Normal

***Collections for 1939 best in
decade but total collections
barely exceed levy in
average city***

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Municipal property tax delinquency in 1939 was the lowest in a decade, according to the 1930-39 survey of tax delinquency prepared by Dr. Frederick L. Bird and just published.¹ After six successive years of improving current collections and four years of abnormally high back tax collections, however, total current and delinquent collections have reached normalcy, the study shows, with the backlog of accumulated uncollected taxes sharply reduced in the average city.

Year-end current tax delinquency for 150 cities of over 50,000 population as summarized in the survey follows. The left-hand column contains the median figures for twenty cities showing the greatest stability of collections; the center column the median delinquency for the entire group of cities; and the right-hand column the median figures for twenty cities showing greatest instability of current collections.

	<i>Median Percentages of Year-end Tax Delinquency</i>	
	<i>20 Stable Records</i>	<i>20 Unstable Records</i>
1930	4.05	11.85
1931	5.55	18.55
1932	7.90	27.20
1933	10.15	39.05
1934	8.60	34.55
1935	7.55	28.55
1936	6.15	21.15
1937	5.35	14.00

¹*Trend of Tax Delinquency 1930-39, Cities Over 50,000 Population*, by Frederick L. Bird, New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1940.

1938	5.10	10.70	13.10
1939	4.85	9.25	11.60

Even more important than the fact that current collections have improved to better than the 1930 level is the fact that the lush back tax collections experienced by many cities during the 1935-38 period are about over. As Dr. Bird succinctly points out in an extended discussion of this phase of tax collections, many cities which experienced very poor current collections during the early depression years found themselves with bonanza collections, such as they had never experienced before, as taxpayers began to pay up arrears. Many of these cities had their total collections pushed up to 120, 130, and even 140 per cent of the levy by the large volume of delinquent collections—and many used the funds so received to lower current tax levies or support greatly expanded expenditures. As the backlog of accumulated delinquent taxes is exhausted by repayment collections, these cities are returning—declining is perhaps the better word—to normal, and increased current tax levies or reduced expenditures will be necessary. The following table summarizes the total current and delinquent tax collection experience of one hundred of the cities for which comparable data are available:

Median Percentages of Total Tax Collections

	Median	Range		Above 105%	Below 95%
		Low	High		
1935	100.9	74.6	122.4	29	12
1936	102.5	82.1	131.5	34	11
1937	102.8	77.0	141.7	34	8
1938	99.8	80.3	121.9	19	12
1939	100.8	80.5	110.8	18	11

Findings of the survey as to the extent and distribution of delinquent taxes will be summarized in this column next month.

Date Set for MFOA Convention

The 1940 conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association will be held in Detroit, June 17 to 19, at the Hotel Statler.

Features of the conference will include the round tables where various procedural matters will be discussed in small groups under capable leadership. At the general sessions there will be discussions of the broad, unusual problems facing local governments at this time. The complete program will be announced at a later date.

Kentucky Bank Deposit Tax Upheld

The United States Supreme Court (*Madden v. Ky.*, 60 S. Ct. 406, Adv. Sheets) has sustained the decision by the Kentucky Court of Appeals that the state legislature did not violate the due process, equal protection, or privileges and immunities clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment by classifying bank deposits in Kentucky for taxation at one rate and those maintained outside the state by Kentuckians at a higher rate. The court, following the doctrine of the *Watson* case (254 U. S. 122, 4 S. Ct. 43, 65 L. Ed. 170) and of the case of *Carmichael v. Southern Coal and Coke Co.* (30 U. S. 495, 57 S. Ct. 868, 81 L. Ed. 1245), held that administrative feasibility was a valid basis for classification.

Both counsel and the court itself seemed to take a more serious view of the alleged violation of the privileges and immunities clause. The Court of Appeals of Kentucky (265 Ky. 684, 692) had distinguished this case from that of *Colgate v. Harvey* (296 U. S. 404, 56 S. Ct. 252, 80 L. Ed. 299) relied on by the taxpayer's counsel in the *Madden* appeal. However, the Supreme Court re-examined the doctrine of the *Harvey* case and expressly overruled that case. The decision involved adherence to the traditional view that the privileges and immunities assured by the constitution were those of national citizenship.

From the majority opinion by Mr. Justice Reed, Mr. Justice Roberts dissents on the ground that *Colgate v. Harvey* cor-

rectly expressed the law. Mr. Justice McReynolds concurred in the dissent.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

States Integrate Tax Administration

State tax department reorganization, resulting in a reduction in agencies or a single agency, is reported for six states in a survey recently made by the Federation of Tax Administrators covering the past twelve months.

The states working toward coördination include Minnesota, Kansas, North Dakota, Iowa, Idaho, and Texas. A check on eight major taxes for the entire forty-eight states shows that the 135 agencies administering them were reduced to 131 during the twelve months, although the total number of taxes increased from 305 to 308. "Major" taxes included general property, income, sales, gasoline, inheritance and estate, motor vehicle registration, tobacco, and liquor levies.

As part of a general financial reorganization, Minnesota reconstructed its tax-administering agencies, reducing the number from five to three. Kansas replaced its Department of Inspection and Registration and its Tax Commission with a new office headed by a director of revenue under supervision of the commissioner of revenue and taxation. North Dakota transferred liquor taxes from the "regulatory department" to the Tax Commission.

Iowa created a Tax Commission to take charge of six of the major taxes formerly under two other agencies, in addition to other tax functions which had been scattered among other agencies. In Idaho the existing tax commissioner took over administration of eight taxes formerly distributed among three agencies. Texas abolished the office of state tax commissioner, allocating his duties to other agencies.

Changes with some coördinating effect were reported also for Alabama, Colorado,

Oklahoma, and Ohio. Rhode Island's state reorganization act revised the tax-administering agencies, which were already integrated under one head.

Wisconsin was the only state to go counter to consolidation. Early in 1939 administration of its gasoline and liquor taxes was transferred from the Tax Commission to the Treasury Department, which was also given charge of the tobacco tax enacted later. The Department of Taxation, which replaced the Tax Commission, was left in charge of general property, income and inheritance, chain store, and utility taxes.

Eight states administer their major taxes through one agency, according to the survey. They are Georgia, Kentucky, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah. At the other end of the list, one state has six agencies and one has five. The most common number of tax agencies in a state is three—fourteen have this number; eleven states utilize four agencies.

Mayor LaGuardia on P.R.

***An Answer to the Post
Dr. Finley of the Times
P.R. for a Union of Nations***

Edited by

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

During the campaign for P. R. and the city manager plan in Waterbury, Connecticut, last fall Chandler W. Johnson of Cambridge asked Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York City for a statement on the principles of the Waterbury proposal and received the following answer, dated October 2, 1939:

"Opposition to the proportional representation form of election of city councilmen is no surprise to me. Whether in New York City, Cincinnati, or Waterbury, the opposition will be found to come from professional clubhouse politicians. The only

difference between proportional representation and the old system of election is that it gives every minority of voters within the city proper representation in the legislative branch of its local government. The matter seemingly cannot be discussed on its merits. Therefore, the opposition resorts to ridicule, exaggeration of facts, and misstatements.

"It is said that it takes a long time to count the ballots. This is true. Is it not better to take a long time to count the ballots in the light of day where everybody can see the ballots and get an honest count and thereby carry out the wishes of the people than it is to get a quick and dishonest count only to carry out the orders of a political boss? The expense involved in a city the size of Waterbury is negligible.

"It is said that Labor and other interested and recognized groups do not have a fair chance. In New York City and elsewhere where it has been tried, it has been found that such groups do have a fair proportion of representation. In New York City, five of twenty-six councilmen were elected from Labor groups. Five independents without any clubhouse affiliations were likewise elected. Therefore, it will be seen that in so far as representation is concerned, everyone gets an equal chance and actual representation.

"I may be asked, and properly, 'Has the city council been annoying and exasperating to the Mayor?' Surely, it has, but is that not our system of government? Is not every executive subjected to criticism, or even, if you please, to be harassed by the legislative body? I am glad that I am living under a system of government that permits an executive to be criticized, even if that criticism extends to the point of unjustifiable abuse. Otherwise, we would soon arrive at the individual dictator. We want no such system in this country.

"If it is asked, 'Has the proportional-representation-elected city council been as effective as it might be?' the answer is no. But, that is not the fault of the method of election. Rather, may I say that is just why it is complimentary to my administra-

tion. The function of a local administrative (legislative) body is to be alert, to watch the executive and administrators, and perhaps where there is an honest and efficient administration, there is little in both respects for the council to do. Therefore, when the council set out to criticize and find fault with the administration, there was nothing that they could successfully attack. Therefore, there has been a great deal of discussion and a great deal of criticism and fault-finding that could not be justified. That is not a fault of the council, but is to the credit of the administration. The council under an inefficient and dishonest administration would have brought to light its faults, dishonesty, and inefficiency, and would have crystallized public opinion against such an administration to bring about corrective action.

"I have been asked as to the city manager. On that, I will say that Waterbury is an ideal city for the city manager form of government. Of course, that again depends upon the men who select the city manager and the ability and character of the city manager himself. Once accepting the city manager form of government, it is necessary to give that city manager the moral and actual support necessary and to give him the power to successfully administer the city honestly and efficiently. To have the proper selection of a proper city manager, it is necessary of course to have the proportional representation system of electing the councilmen, in order to make certain that he will not be politically picked and that the best available person will be selected."

F. H. LA GUARDIA, *Mayor*

The Post Was Misled

As already indicated editorially in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for February, the *Saturday Evening Post*, on January 27, 1940, printed one of the most completely erroneous and groundless attacks that has ever appeared in a reputable American periodical. The editor who wrote the *Post's* leader, "P. R.—Meaning Power

Racket," was badly misled himself and has misled many thousands of others.

Since the *Post* has so far declined to print any public retraction in response to the many protests sent to it by informed people and since it is evident that for some time to come its editorial will be used by the forces of spoils politics wherever good citizens try to rid themselves of political bondage by securing a more complete representation of the voting public, it seems desirable to summarize for the use of such citizens the *Post's* misstatements and the true facts.

The following statements in the *Post* editorial can be proved to the satisfaction of any open-minded investigator to be utterly false:

1. "They [the civic leaders of Cincinnati] were troubled over the obvious fact that minorities were not being represented on the city council, even though a city manager form of government was working well. They looked about for a remedy. Professional enthusiasts came along and sold them on the idea that a new system of voting, proportional representation, something that had been introduced in the Irish Free State, would give the overlooked minorities representation."

P. R. was adopted in Cincinnati simultaneously with the city manager plan. The civic leaders there, including Murray Seasongood, Charles P. Taft, and the late Henry Bentley, have given their opinion that the city manager plan never would have worked well in Cincinnati without P. R., any more than it has in Kansas City.

2. "This [the election of a 4-4-1 council under P. R. in Cincinnati in 1939] gave Ham-and-Egger Bigelow the balance of power in the council, and he's been using it to keep Cincinnati in bewildered turmoil ever since."

This statement was printed on January 27, 1940. On January 3, 1940, three days after the new council assumed office, Mr. Bigelow's plan to deadlock the election of a mayor (president of council), by refusal to cast a ballot until he could drive a

bargain with one side or the other, met with complete failure. Charles P. Taft, son of the late President and Chief Justice, and mayoralty candidate for the charter forces, voted for the Republican organization candidate, James G. Stewart who had led the poll in the popular vote for councilmen. Mr. Stewart was thus elected by five votes out of eight. A Charter Committee vice-mayor, Edward N. Waldvogel, was then elected immediately by five votes to four, Mr. Bigelow making no attempt this time to secure any compensation for his vote. The business of the city has continued to run smoothly as usual.

3. "Bigelow won because his strictly personal following of 14,233—out of a total of 146,174—cast their ballots for him, and voted for few, if any, other candidates."

Bigelow's first-choice following was 8,661. The other 5,572 whose votes helped elect him voted first for some other candidate and for Bigelow as a later choice. Their votes were transferred to him because their earlier choices were either defeated or elected without their help, so that Bigelow was the first of their choices who could be helped by their votes. No one knows whether the Bigelow voters voted for few, if any, other candidates after voting for Bigelow, for the fact was not recorded and is entirely immaterial. The *Post* editor goes on to indicate further that he has a misconception of P. R. in this regard.

4. "If there had been eight other demagogues with personal followings as large as Bigelow's in Cincinnati, then there would be nine Bigelows running the city of Cincinnati today, and the citizenry at large would not be represented at all."

Since each ballot counts for the election of only one candidate under P. R., the nine hypothetical Bigelows would be elected by at least nine times the Bigelow vote of 14,233, or 128,097 of the 146,319 valid votes. The unrepresented "citizenry at large" would be the 18,222 or less who were left. (And of course if more than 14,233 of these voted for one man, they

would defeat one of the nine Bigelows at that.) The *Post* writer simply doesn't understand P. R.

5. "They [the Tammany mathematicians in New York] discovered that P. R. was a sheep in wolf's clothing. They butchered the sheep to make a merry political barbecue the first time P. R. was tried at the polls in 1937."

Tammany and its allies elected thirteen councilmen out of twenty-six.¹ Two others, elected as insurgent Democrats, became part of the Democratic organization delegation when their group ousted the Queens regulars from control during their term of office. Never before since 1919, even in the first LaGuardia election, had Tammany and its allies failed to elect at least 75 per cent of the city's legislative body to which the new council corresponded. The same day that the Democratic organizations elected 50 per cent of the first council under P. R., they elected 80 per cent of the city's state assemblymen and 87 per cent of the city's delegation to the constitutional convention under the old plurality system.

6. "Last fall . . . Tammany won full control of New York's City Council, by the simple trick of having their well trained voters cast ballots for only a few candidates."

Tammany and its allies² won control by casting a majority of the votes, which entitled them to control. There was no "trick" about it. The independent voters stayed home in droves, considering it an "off-year," and the Democratic organization swept every office in the city except the P. R. council. On the new council the

opposition elements are ably represented by seven members out of twenty-one, enough to sustain Mayor LaGuardia on a budget veto. But for P. R. it is practically certain that the Democrats would have swept the entire council as they did the judicial and county offices throughout the city.

Obviously a statement based on so much misinformation and misunderstanding is deserving of no credence whatever.

Dr. Finley's Death a Loss to P.R.

One of the many good causes to lose a beloved and powerful friend in the death of John H. Finley on March 7 was the cause of true representative government. The editor-emeritus of the *New York Times*, formerly president of Knox College and the College of the City of New York, professor of politics at Princeton University, commissioner of education of the State of New York, author, scholar, and community leader, had been a member of the national advisory council of the Proportional Representation League continuously since 1915. He was one of the distinguished Americans who gave early encouragement to Clarence and William Hoag in their pioneer efforts to establish P. R. in the first small American cities to adopt it and continued his support as this instrument of democracy won its way to adoption in his own great city of New York.

Elections in a Federal Union of Nations

In Great Britain much attention is being given to the problem of international organization after the war. A considerable body of opinion favors a federal union of the leading democracies, as urged by Clarence K. Streit in his *Union Now* and hinted at in public statements recently by both Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain and former Prime Minister Daladier of France.

John H. Humphreys, secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society,

¹See also "New York's First Use of P. R.," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 52.

²Tammany itself, the Manhattan Democratic organization, elected only two out of five in that borough. It failed to elect three out of five because P. R. gave representation to the minority within the Democratic ranks which supported Alfred E. Smith, Jr., running as an independent. See also "The Second Use of P. R. in New York City," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1939, p. 880.

has contributed two articles on "Problems of Federal Union" to the *Federal Union News*.¹ In the first of these he analyzes the problem of elections and favors the proportional over the "majority" systems not only from the viewpoint of abstract justice but from that of making the new organization work.

"In a federal union," he writes, "stress will probably be laid at election time upon national interests, needs, and points of view. The majority system may give to these an exaggerated expression, depriving the internationally minded of their due share of influence in the common parliament. We cannot foresee what issues may arise to cause dissension, but exaggeration of dissension tends toward war. Federal union principles have been criticised on the ground that federalism did not prevent the American civil war. Was the majority system of election a factor? A committee of the United States Senate of 1869 reported upon the effects of a 'vicious electoral system' in suppressing the elements in the southern states favorable to the union. The free vote system (a form of proportional representation) would, they said, 'have held the union men of those states together and have given them voices in the electoral colleges. . . . Unrepresented, without due voice and power, they could interpose no effectual resistance to secession and to civil war.' The 'solid' south was a product of the majority system. Federal union should reject all possibility of totalitarianism in representation in any area within the union."

The difficulties of federation in India due to the suppression of minorities by the majority system of election are contrasted with the smooth functioning of federated democracy under proportional representation in Switzerland, where "the cantons of Zurich, of Vaud, of Ticino—German, French, and Italian speaking respectively—

each elect to the federal parliament Socialists, Conservatives, and Liberals, who, coming from different cantons, coöperate in the work of federal government."

Mr. Humphreys points out that some form of P. R. "is the law today in no less than eight of the fifteen democracies named in Mr. Streit's *Union Now*. Proportional systems are used in electing the Houses of Parliament of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Ireland. In five of the remaining seven democracies, proportional representation is in use, although at present only for special purposes," whilst in France the Chamber of Deputies in 1939 passed a P. R. bill."

The single transferable vote or Hare system of P. R. used in Ireland, the United States and the other English-speaking democracies is preferred to the party list systems of continental Europe because "it confers freedom upon electors and candidates," while the list systems restrict the voters' choice.

In his second article Mr. Humphreys discusses the problem of government in a federal union. The forms of executive used in Britain, the United States, and Switzerland are discussed in turn, with a preference for the Swiss form, a coöperative government of seven members elected by the assembly and not confined to one party or state. The Swiss custom of rotation in the presidency among the different members of the government is particularly recommended. The plan of a separately elected executive, as in the United States, is disapproved for a federal union of nations because of the possibility of a disastrous conflict of policy between the executive and the legislature.

¹The five are the United States (for the New York, Cincinnati, Toledo, and other city councils), Canada (for parts of the provincial legislatures of Manitoba and Alberta and several municipal councils), Great Britain (for university members of parliament), Australia (for the legislative assembly of Tasmania and the upper house of New South Wales), and New Zealand (for the Christchurch city council and certain other local bodies).

²These articles have been reprinted in a single leaflet by the British P. R. Society and may be obtained for one penny (two cents American money) plus postage from the society at 82 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1, London.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The New Democracy and the New Despotism. By Charles E. Merriam. New York, Whittlesey House, 1939. viii, 278 pp. \$3.00.

Prologue to Politics. By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. x, 118 pp. \$1.50.

The struggle between two forms of government—democratic and dictatorial—attracted much comment during the past decade and gave rise to many studies that were descriptive and expository. As this struggle approached its catastrophic climax, readers began to be bored with the repetition of gossip and irrelevant facts on democracies and dictatorships, and to demand a clear statement of alternatives. The first of Professor Merriam's books listed above, published before the outbreak of the war last September, provided for the first time a satisfactory philosophical comparison of the two systems of government.

Merriam defines democracy in terms of the dignity of man, the perfectibility of mankind, the diffusion of social gain through the masses, the consent of the governed, and the possibility of consciously desired and peaceful change. A prolific writer and an authority in many fields, he has examined each of these assumptions, particularly the consent of the governed, and presented what must be regarded as a final statement of the validity of the democratic dogma.

His discussion of despotism is based on studies that were begun many years ago. He draws heavily on the new information made available by the cognate social sciences, indicating that the anti-democratic movement is but a recrudescence of primitive ideas of the superman, the noble few, and individual selfishness; and in his analysis of the doctrines of the New Despotism, he scathingly rebukes the fraudulent misuse of terms by the defenders of despotism, the exaggeration of nationalism, the irrational reliance upon violence,

and the desperate reaction against international anarchy which has made despots.

One cannot summarize in a brief review the opinions which Professor Merriam entertains, but in the mind of the reviewer it seems that the burden of the author's argument is that mankind should progress humanely, benignly, and intelligently through creative evolution to that kind of world order which allows individual men to realize their capacities to the optimum degree and which at the same time provides an ever increasing measure of stability in international relationships.

Professor Merriam's *Prologue to Politics* is a preface to a more formal and extensive discussion of political science which he has long had in preparation and which he hopes some time to conclude with an *Epilogue to Politics*. In a sense, this work is a condensation of much that he has previously written, but in a new and striking manner the author has discussed the alternate principles of violence and consent in the formation of the state.

In broad outline he sketches the characteristics of the ideal state and analyzes the tasks of politics in a comprehensive manner which departs from the usual practice of making politics coördinate with administration and recreates the term in its classical meaning as the sum of social behavior which is concerned with the understanding of the political animal. Though calm and judicious, the *Prologue to Politics* bears in its few pages the impact of a noble determination to make scholarship forthright, brave, and tough. Professor Merriam says: "Some say, 'Let us take the Oxford oath and turn the other cheek.' Not for me. Perhaps the most peaceful person in the world, I find myself from time to time engaged in controversy—obliged to defend myself in youth, to defend my country in war, to defend myself in politics, to defend my university's freedom of inquiry. . . . We, too, can will; we, too, can act; we, too, can endure; we, too, can trust, obey,

and fight—but in the light of reason and in the spirit of good will.”

R. V. P.

The Government and Misgovernment of London. By William A. Robson. London, George Allen and Unwin. 484 pp. 15/-.

In the back of this book is a copy of a map which hangs in the County Hall of the London County Council. That hall is one of the finest public buildings in Europe. It is a great pity that its symmetry, efficiency, and beauty are not to be found also in the government of the great area depicted on the map. For that map shows the large number of Londons there are and all but a few perform a governmental service for more people than any other “conurbation” on earth. This term is better than “metropolitan area” for it gives the picture of many cities associated together. “Would that they were!”, is the impassioned cry of this book, written by a distinguished professor of the London School of Economics who is no stranger to these shores. He expresses the hope that “friends and colleagues across the Atlantic . . . will find this study useful to them.” They will find it very useful in such conurbations as the New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and similar areas. If its lessons are heeded they will not flounder in such a maze and mess of *ad hoc* bodies, jealous, separately incorporated new cities, and ignorant, reactionary old ones as Londoners have to endure.

An ever greater percentage of the population tends to gather in conurbations. There, applied science appears to offer great blessings but much of this is and will be negated if we repeat in any measure the shameful picture of London's government as presented by this book; for that city, where there is supposed to be gathered together the greatest of the British Empire, with a population greater than that of any one of fifteen European nations, is so badly arranged physically that “one Londoner in ten lives by carting his fellows around.”

Governmental planning, if such a word dare be used, is a veritable nightmare. Because there is no room within its own borders, the London County Council must buy land in adjoining areas for its housing program. Therefore its plans and equipment must conform to the standards of the local governments. A scheme that provides living space for over one hundred thousand people was planned as a single physical unit, but it has become “a wilderness of puzzled and discontented persons” because the three municipal local governments that service it refuse to allow it to have a government of its own.

We may be warned in time of the practical impossibility of ever achieving a unified government in a huge urbanized area if we follow London's history. There an *ad hoc* body has been set up from time to time to relieve a particularly pressing problem. The metropolitan police system, admittedly good within its own field, “relieved the pressure on a vital spot”—and by that very fact prevented the solution of the entire administrative problem.

The root cause of most of this misgovernment was summed up in a conversation this reviewer had with Alderman A. Emil Davies, for twenty years Vice Chairman of the London County Council. He bitterly complained of the unwillingness of small but autonomous local governments of the London area to coöperate with the central but not very powerful government. This book is a documented study of that situation. Let its lessons be heeded here before too late. What we should strive for, says Professor Robson, is that “areas of political organization should comprehend the areas of the diurnal movement made by the people.” Helicopters will put a strain on the genius of Americans to accomplish that, a type of genius of which Londoners (and the British Parliament where London has been concerned) for one hundred years have hardly shown a trace. We can only hope the spark of genius which Professor Robson displays will fan to a flame which will enlighten city dwellers everywhere. Or will

it take the balefire from Nazi bombs to do what argument has so far seemed powerless to achieve?

W. J. M.

You Are a Taxpayer. By Mabel Newcomer. Poughkeepsie, New York, Vassar College, 1939. 37 pp. Thirty-five cents.

A simple, comprehensive, sane, unbiased presentation of the facts about taxes has been needed for so long that it is a little hard to believe that someone has done it at last. The table of contents of this pamphlet compliments it better than any descriptive review could do: You Are a Taxpayer; What You Get for Your Taxes; How Can Taxes Be Justified?; Benefit Taxes—Motor Vehicle Taxes, Payroll Taxes; Ability Taxes—Personal Income Tax, Death Taxes, Property Tax, Business Taxes; Taxation for Social Control, Not Revenue—Customs Duties, Liquor and Opium Taxes, Chain Store and Margarine Taxes; Not Justice, But Money—General Sales Tax; Tax Consciousness; Your Tax Burden; The Unbalanced Budget; More Taxes Ahead?; Do You Want to Keep Up with Taxes?

The gabbling hordes who swept New York's state capitol last month to talk around and about the budget, the persons who "sound off" at "taxpayer" meetings and on street corners, should all have a copy of this pamphlet to read. The beauty of it is that it lacks that hortatory, propagandistic tone which might make its readers withdraw further into their own prejudices in sheer self-defense. Obviously, Miss Newcomer had no ax to grind other than that of simple common sense.

M. R.

Municipal Finance. By Frank A. Neff. Wichita, Kansas, McGuin Publishing Company, xii, 330 pp. \$3.00.

The phrase appended to the title is, "With emphasis on trends." The author goes a long way back to trace the origin of some of the factors that have done some

strange "trending" recently. But "the cities of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece" are not visited very long and the book soon comes down to date with a picture both detailed and dynamic of current practices. The last chapter, "Summary and Conclusion," might better have been termed "Summary and Forecast," because of its spirit. An excellent bibliography completes a book which is much more readable than its title indicates, and one which achieves this quality without sacrifice of thoroughness.

W. J. M.

Theory and Practice in Politics. The Godkin Lectures 1939. By Robert Moses. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939. vi, 78 pp. \$1.00.

Quoting copiously from his own past correspondence with a variety of individuals on a variety of subjects, Mr. Moses undertook, in these two Harvard Godkin lectures, to dispose of a great many political "theories" which he believes in his breezy self-confident way to be utter nonsense. He calls himself the "thoughtful conservative." In seventy-eight small pages he speaks his mind on freedom of the press, speech and assembly, proportional representation, the council-manager plan, women in public life, the merit system, unemployment relief, Ogden Mills, and a number of other matters of weight and scope. Most of those, except Mr. Mills, he considers greatly over-rated. He says so by frequently using such terms as "agitator," "communist," and "crackpot." Mr. Moses is an excellent park commissioner.

M. R.

Civil Service in Relation to Housing Management Personnel. By Beatrice Greenfield Rosahn, in coöperation with the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Committee on Housing Management. New York, Citizens' Housing Council, 1940. 52 pp. mimeo. \$1.00.

Although this report is primarily con-

cerned with public housing developments in New York City, it contains numerous suggestions concerning housing management personnel which should prove useful in other communities where public projects are under way or contemplated. Emphasizing that "once a housing project has been built the most important single factor making for its success or failure is the management under which it is placed," the report states that men and women of exceptional administrative ability, personal integrity, and social outlook must be found to assume the responsibilities of public housing management. As an aid in securing individuals of this calibre the report suggests the applicability of the merit system.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Civil Service

Preliminary Report of the Committee on Training of Personnel Workers. By Louis J. Kroeger. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 33 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

County Government

Fifth Annual Report, County of Henrico, Virginia, year ended June 30, 1939. Richmond, Virginia, 1940. 61 pp. mimeo.

Recent Experiments Affecting County Government in North Carolina and Virginia. By William L. Bradshaw. Apply to author at University of Missouri. 23 pp. mimeo.

Education

Personnel Administration in Three Non-Teaching Services of the Public Schools. By Hazel Davis. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. x, 323 pp. \$2.50.

Political Science in American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1900. By Anna Haddow. Edited with an introduction and concluding chapter by William Anderson. New York, D. Appleton-

Century Company, 1939. xiv, 308 pp. \$2.50.

The Problem of School Costs. As viewed by Educational Research. Report of the Committee on School Costs. Albany, Educational Research Association of New York State, 1940. 16 pp.

Safety

Standard Highway Safety Program for States. A working program to increase traffic efficiency and reduce accidents. New York City, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1939. 23 pp.

Traffic Safety: Today's Gains—Tomorrow's Goal. By Paul G. Hoffman. New York City, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1939. 12 pp. Illus.

You Must Protect the Thoughtless Driver! New York City, Lumber Mutual Casualty Insurance Company, 1940. 40 pp. illus.

Social Security

Outline of Employer's Duties under the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code as amended August 1939. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency, 1939. 14 pp.

Number One Municipal Problem: The Unsound Pension Funds. By Harold Reigelman. (Address before the Metropolitan Conference of Real Estate Boards.) New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., 1940. 20 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Minnesota Tax Calendar of 1940 Taxes and Reports Due. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, 1940. 16 pp.

Revenue Bonds and the Investor. By Laurence S. Knappen. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., xiii, 329 pp. \$3.50.

State Auditor and Fiscal Control in Missouri Counties. By Victor D. Brannon. Columbia, University of Missouri, 1939. 110 pp. \$1.25.

The Taxpayers Dollar. Louisville, Kentucky, Department of Research and Service, 1940. 8 pp.